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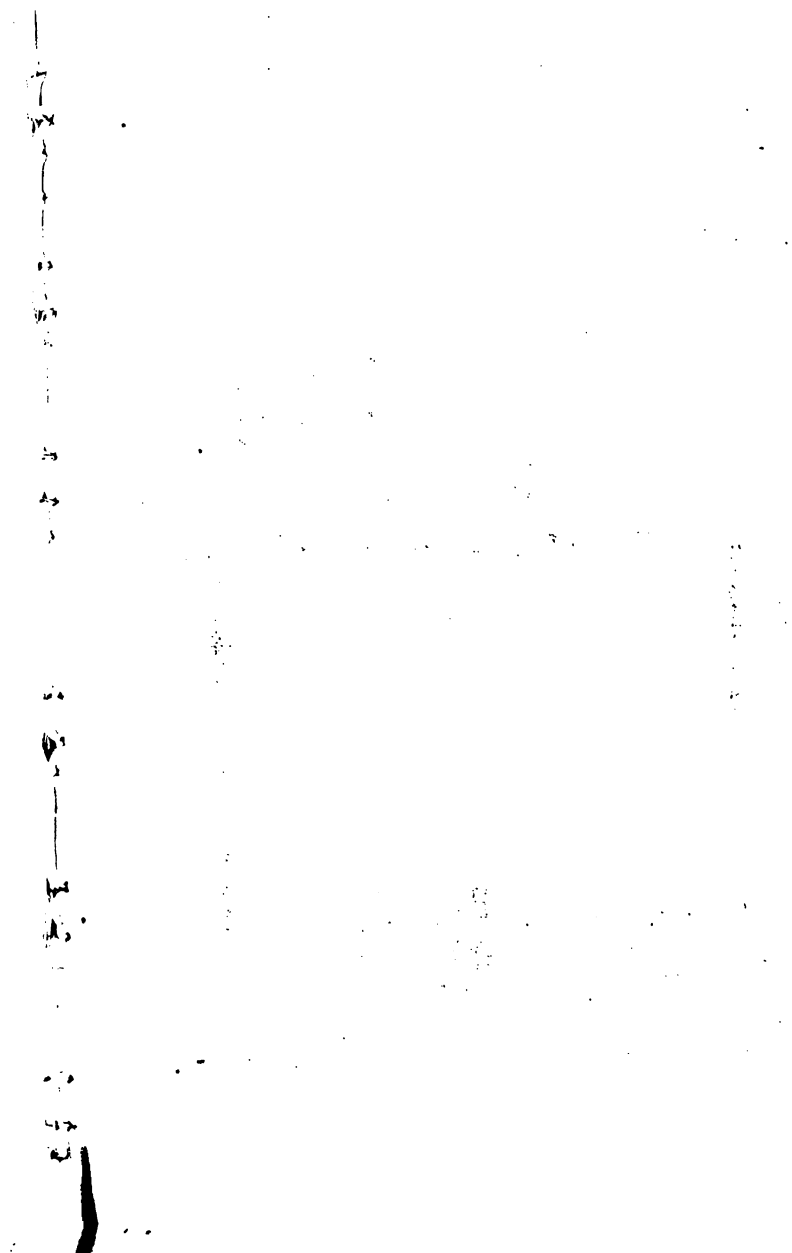


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SOME THOUGHTS  
CONCERNING  
E D U C A T I O N

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SOME THOUGHTS  
CONCERNING  
E D U C A T I O N

BY  
JOHN LOCKE

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY THE

REV. EVAN DANIEL, M.A.

~~PRINCIPAL OF THE~~ COLLEGE, BATTERSEA  
~~GENERAL~~

SECONDHAND SCHOOL BOOKS PURCHASED.

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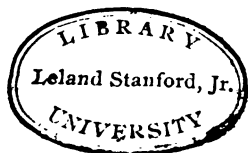
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## LIFE OF LOCKE.

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JOHN LOCKE was born in 1632 at Wrington in Somersetshire, and was the son of a gentleman of moderate landed property, who served as a captain in the Parliamentary army during the Civil War. He was educated with great care by his father, and many of his counsels on the treatment of children are, doubtless, based upon his own personal experience. 'In the early part of his life,' says Lord King, 'his father exacted the utmost respect from his son, but gradually treated him with less and less reserve, and, when grown up, lived with him on terms of the most entire friendship; so much so, that Locke mentioned the fact of his father having expressed his regret for giving way to his anger and striking him once in his childhood when he did not deserve it.'

Locke was sent to Westminster School, and thence to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1651, where he soon became distinguished for his talents and his learning. The course of studies pursued there, however, was not to his taste. He preferred the method of Bacon and Descartes to that of the schools, and he often expressed his regret in after-life that his father had ever sent him to Oxford. It is probable that he would have been equally dissatisfied with any other university of that day. Already possessed of great independence of mind and devoted to the pursuit of truth, he would have been impatient of any course of studies which did not give free play to these tendencies. Few men were ever more impatient under the tyranny of custom or authority.



His earliest work was a political essay written towards the end of 1660, with a view to a peaceable solution of affairs in Church and State: though intended for publication, it was never printed. In 1664 he accompanied, as secretary, Sir Walter Vane, envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg, to Germany, where he stayed till the following year, when he returned to England. His letters from abroad are full of shrewd observation, and are remarkably lively in style.

Locke had advantageous offers of preferment in the Church, and had a narrow escape of being engaged in diplomacy; but he was too conscientious to accept the former, and he was, happily, saved from the latter. His own natural tastes inclined him strongly to the study of medicine, which occupied much of his attention to the end of his life. Sydenham, the greatest medical authority of his time, speaks in the highest terms of Locke's knowledge of the healing art, and cites his opinion as that of one who, if his genius, penetration, and exact judgment were considered, had scarcely any equal and few superiors then living (1676). 'No science,' says Dugald Stewart, 'could have been chosen more happily calculated than medicine to prepare such a mind as that of Locke for the prosecution of those speculations which have immortalised his name: the complicated and fugitive and often equivocal phenomena of disease requiring in the observer a far greater portion of discriminating sagacity than those of physics, strictly so called; resembling in this respect, much more nearly, the phenomena about which metaphysics, ethics, and politics are conversant.'

In the year 1666 Locke became acquainted with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, who was suffering at the time from an abscess in his chest, and had come to Oxford to drink the waters at Astrop. A close intimacy sprang up between them, and, at Locke's advice, Lord Ashley underwent an operation which is said to have saved his life. Thenceforward Locke became an inmate of his lordship's house, where he was brought into contact with the greatest wits and statesmen of the day. Le Clerc tells a characteristic story of this period of his life. Upon one occasion three or four distinguished guests of Lord Ashley were playing at cards, when Locke took out his pocket-book and, looking at the players with great attention, began to write in his

pocket-book. One of the party, after some time observing this, asked what he was writing ; to which Locke replied : ' I am endeavouring to profit as far as I am able in your company ; for having waited with impatience for the honour of being in an assembly of the greatest geniuses of the age, and having at length obtained this good fortune, I thought I could not do better than write down your conversation ; and, indeed, I have set down the substance of what has been said for this hour or two.' It was not necessary for him to proceed far ; the card table was abandoned, and the guests spent the remainder of the evening in rational conversation.

In 1670 Locke sketched the outline of his ' Essay on the Human Understanding,' which was not published, however, until 1690. The occasion which suggested it to him is thus told by himself in an address to the reader :—' Were it fit to trouble thee with the history of this Essay, I should tell thee that five or six friends meeting at my chamber, and discoursing on a subject very remote from this, found themselves quickly at a stand by the difficulties that rose on every side. After we had a while puzzled ourselves, without coming any nearer a resolution of those doubts which perplexed us, it came into my thoughts that we took a wrong course, and that, before we set ourselves upon inquiries of that nature, it was necessary to exercise our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were or were not fitted to deal with. This I proposed to the company, who all readily assented ; and hereupon it was agreed that this should be our first inquiry. Some hasty and undigested thoughts on a subject I had never before considered, which I set down against our next meeting, gave the first entrance into this discourse ; which having thus begun by chance, was continued by intreaty, written by incoherent parcels, and after long intervals of neglect resumed again, as my humour or occasions permitted ; and at last, in a retirement where an attendance on my health gave me leisure, it was brought into that order thou seest it.'

While an inmate of Lord Ashley's house, Locke presided over the studies of his son and of his grandson, the third Earl of Shaftesbury and author of the famous 'Characteristics.' In 1672 Shaftesbury appointed Locke his

secretary for the presentation of benefices, and also to an office in the Board of Trade; both of which posts he resigned the following year, when his patron quarrelled with the Court. Delicate health compelled Locke in 1675 to take up his abode in France, where he spent several years, first at Montpellier and afterwards at Paris. The journal which he kept during this period shows how carefully he noted down whatever was worthy of description.

On Shaftesbury's return to office in 1679 Locke returned to England; but the same asthmatic complaint which had compelled him to go abroad now prevented him from residing in London, and he was obliged to spend much of his time at Oxford and in the West of England. Shaftesbury again incurred the displeasure of the Court in 1682, and withdrew to Holland, whither Locke, who had been so closely connected with him, thought it prudent to retire also in 1683. Even there he was, for a time, obliged to live in concealment, the English envoy having demanded of the States-General that he should be given up for complicity in the expedition of the Duke of Monmouth. In 1684 he was deprived, by an illegal order of the king, of his studentship at Christ Church, on a suspicion that he had written a pamphlet which had given offence to the government. After a time it became possible for him to appear publicly at Amsterdam, where he founded a literary society including a number of eminent scholars and thinkers.

In 1688 Locke returned to England in the same fleet that conveyed the Princess of Orange. During his exile he had written in Latin 'A Letter concerning Toleration,' which was published in 1689 and was speedily translated. It was attacked by an Oxford writer, to whom Locke replied in three additional Letters.

In 1690 appeared his most famous work, the 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' of which Sir James Mackintosh says: 'Few books have contributed more to rectify prejudices, to undermine established errors, to diffuse a just mode of thinking, to excite a fearless spirit of inquiry, and yet to contain it within the boundaries which nature has prescribed to the human understanding. An amendment of the general habits of thought is, in most parts of knowledge, an object as important as even the discovery of new truths, though it

is not so palpable, nor is its nature so capable of being estimated by superficial observers. In the mental or moral world, which scarcely admits of anything which can be called discovery, the correction of the intellectual habits is probably the greatest service which can be rendered to science. In this respect the merit of Locke is unrivalled. His writings have diffused throughout the civilised world the love of civil liberty ; the spirit of toleration and charity in religious differences ; the disposition to reject whatever is obscure, fantastic, or hypothetical in speculation ; to reduce verbal disputes to their proper value ; to abandon problems which admit of no solution ; to distrust whatever cannot be clearly expressed ; to render theory the simple expression of facts ; and to prefer those studies which most directly contribute to human happiness.'

The Essay, as might be expected, was not favourably received at Oxford. The heads of houses of the University at first proposed to formally censure it, but, after much debating, resolved on contenting themselves with doing their utmost to prevent its being read by the students. At Cambridge it met with a very different reception, and for many years, says Dugald Stewart, was 'regarded with a reverence approaching to idolatry.' Considering the nature of the subject treated, the avidity with which the Essay was read is remarkable. Four editions were published in the space of ten years. Thirteen had appeared by 1748. A translation into French, made by Coste under the author's own supervision, soon spread Locke's reputation over the Continent, and exerted a powerful influence on the philosophy of France and Germany.

The air of London again not agreeing with Locke, he accepted the offer of a home in the house of his friend, Sir Francis Masham, at Oates in Essex, where he passed the remainder of his life. In 1693 he published the 'Thoughts concerning Education,' an essay full of good sense and practical suggestions, the merits of which have been recognised by nearly every subsequent writer, English and Continental, who has treated on the subject of education.

Locke was appointed one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in 1695. The same year he published a treatise 'On the Reasonableness of Christianity,' a work

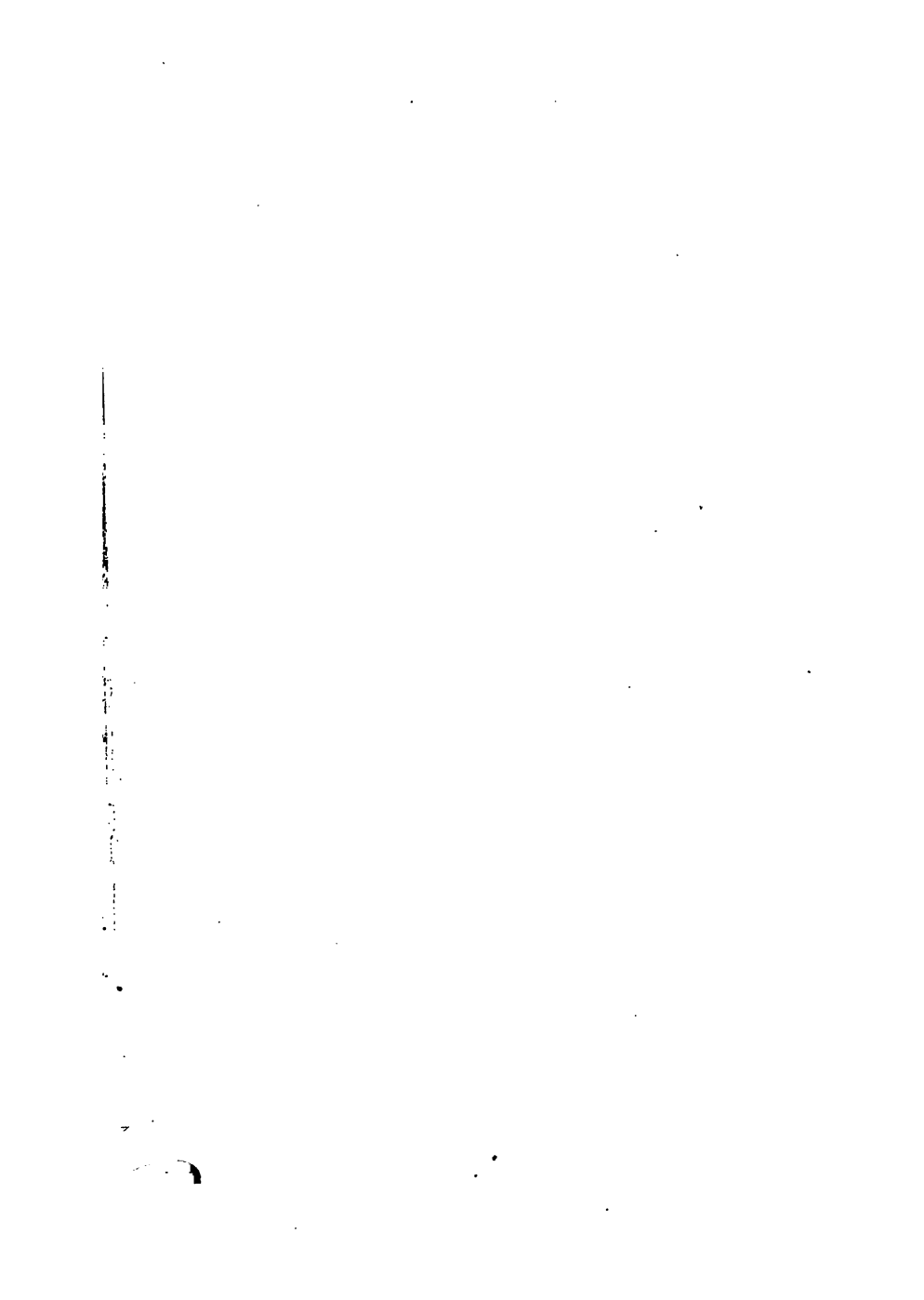
which was intended to promote a design of William III. to reconcile and unite all bodies of professing Christians. An attack upon this work produced a second 'Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity.' In 1697 Locke became involved in a controversy with Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, who had assailed certain passages in the 'Essay' on the ground that they were subversive of the principles of Christianity. In this controversy the bishop is generally considered to have had the worse.

Locke's health now compelled him to resign his public appointments, and he passed the close of his life in the study of the Holy Scriptures. From among his papers were posthumously published a 'Discourse on Miracles,' 'Paraphrases, with Notes, of the Epistles of St. Paul,' an 'Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles by consulting St. Paul himself,' an 'Examination of Malebranche's Opinion of seeing all Things in God,' and a treatise 'Of the Conduct of the Understanding.' The last-named work should be read by all students of Locke as a continuation of the 'Thoughts concerning Education' and a practical application of the 'Essay on the Human Understanding.' Locke died in 1704.

Le Clerc quotes the following sketch of Locke's character, written, he tells us, by a person who knew him well :—'He was a profound philosopher, and a man fit for the most important affairs. He had much knowledge of *belles lettres*, and his manners were very polite and particularly engaging. He knew something of almost everything which can be useful to mankind, and was thoroughly master of all that he had studied, but he showed his superiority by not appearing to value himself in any way on account of his great attainments. Nobody assumed less the airs of a master, or was less dogmatical, and he was never offended when any one did not agree with his opinions. There are, nevertheless, a species of disputants who, after being refuted several times, always return to the charge and only repeat the same argument. These he could not endure, and he sometimes talked of them with impatience, but he was the first to acknowledge that he had been too hasty. In the most trifling circumstances of life, as well as in speculative opinions, he was always ready to be convinced by

reason, let the information come from whomever it might. He was the most faithful follower, or indeed the slave, of truth, which he never abandoned on any account, and which he loved for its own sake.

‘He accommodated himself to the level of the most moderate understandings ; and in disputing with them he did not diminish the force of their arguments against himself, although they were not well expressed by those who had used them. He felt pleasure in conversing with all sorts of people, and tried to profit by their information, which arose not only from the good education he had received, but from the opinion he entertained that there was nobody from whom something useful could not be got. And indeed by this means he had learned so many things concerning the arts and trade that he seemed to have made them his particular study, insomuch that those whose profession they were often profited by his information, and consulted him with advantage. Bad manners particularly annoyed and disgusted him, when he saw they proceeded not from ignorance of the world, but from pride, from haughtiness, from ill-nature, from brutal stupidity, and other similar vices ; otherwise, he was far from despising whomever it might be for having a disagreeable appearance. He considered civility not only as something agreeable and proper to gain people’s hearts, but as a duty of Christianity, which ought to be more insisted on than it commonly is.’



## INTRODUCTION.

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IT might seem that teachers, familiar with the theory and practice of modern education, could derive little profit from the study of a book on education written nearly 200 years ago by an author who, however eminent as a philosopher, was not a schoolmaster by profession, and had had only a very limited experience as a private tutor. But, while the methods of education, during these two hundred years, have undoubtedly greatly advanced, the principles upon which they ultimately rest, and which are to be sought in the nature of the child and the destiny of the man, remain unaltered. It is for the light which Locke throws upon these fundamental questions that his essay continues to deserve the attention of teachers and parents. He approached the subject when he was over sixty years of age, with the knowledge and training of a physician and of a psychologist, and brought to bear upon it a mind remarkable at all times for its calm, dispassionate judgment, a keen power of observation, shrewd practical common sense, and the accumulated experience of an eventful life spent in the choicest intellectual society; and, though we may condemn some of his precepts on matters on which modern science has thrown new light, and smile at some of his suggestions for the carrying out of his views, no thoughtful reader can rise from the perusal of his book without feeling that it has enlarged his views of the scope of education, compelled him to re-examine his estimate of the relative value of different kinds of knowledge and of different methods of teaching, and deepened his knowledge of child-nature and the formation of character. Leibnitz set the 'Thoughts



concerning Education' above the 'Essay on the Human Understanding.' It exercised a powerful influence on the mind of Rousseau, and through him upon the whole of modern Europe.<sup>1</sup> Hallam says that Locke uttered, on the subject of education, 'more good sense than will be found in any preceding writer. . . . Much has been written, and often well, since the days of Locke; but he is the chief source from which it has been ultimately derived: and though the "Emile" is more attractive in manner, it may be doubted whether it is as rational and practicable as the treatise on Education. If they have both the same defect, that their authors wanted sufficient observation of children, it is certain that the caution and sound judgment of Locke has rescued him better from error.'<sup>2</sup>

To estimate rightly the justice of Locke's strictures upon contemporary education, and to see clearly the occasion and aim of his suggestions, it is necessary to bear in mind what contemporary domestic and school education really were.

With regard to the domestic treatment of children, Hallam says: 'The mode of treatment seems to have been passionate and barbarous severity alternating with foolish indulgence. Their spirits were often broken down, and their ingenuousness destroyed, by the former; their habits of self-will and sensuality confirmed by the latter.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'C'est de l'Angleterre qu'est venu le premier germe de l'*Émile*; c'est en Allemagne que l'*Émile* a porté tous ses fruits bons ou mauvais.'—*Hist. Critique des Doctrines de l'Éducation en France*, par G. Compayré, ii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit. Hist.* iv. 183.

<sup>3</sup> By way of illustrating this remark, the following passage may be quoted from Aubrey: 'Such was the state of learning from the time of Erasmus to 1660; learning was downright pedantry. The conversation and habits of those times were as starched as their bands and square beards, and gravity was taken for wisdom. The doctors were old boys. Quibbles passed for wit even in sermons. The gentry and citizens had little learning of any kind, and their way of breeding up their children was suitable to the rest. They were as severe to their children as schoolmasters. The child loathed the sight of his parents. Gentlemen of thirty or forty years of age were to stand like mutes and fools bare-headed before their parents, and their daughters (grown women) were to stand at the cupboard side during the whole time of their proud mother's visit, unless (as the fashion was) leave was desired that a cushion should

The schools of the period were conducted with an equal severity, unrelieved by the occasional indulgence exhibited to children at home. Charge was made for broom and birch with the same regularity as for teaching and for books. 'Many a schoolmaster,' says old Fuller, 'better answereth the name *paidotribes* than *paidagogos*, rather tearing his scholars' flesh with whipping than giving them good education. No wonder if his scholars hate the muses, being presented unto them in the shape of fiends and furies. Such an Orbilius mars more scholars than he makes. Their tyranny hath caused many tongues to stammer which spake plain by nature, and whose stuttering at first was nothing else but fears quavering on their speech at their master's presence. And whose mauling them about their heads hath dulled those who in quickness exceeded their master.'

The curriculum of instruction was almost wholly confined to the study of the dead languages. The revival of learning, while conferring inestimable advantages in many ways, had exerted one highly mischievous effect upon education; it led schoolmasters to look upon a knowledge of Latin and Greek as 'the be-all and end-all' of education. When the vast treasures of Latin and Greek literature were first revealed, and rendered accessible by the newly invented art of printing, it seemed to those on whose eyes the dazzling light fell that whatever was worth knowing was to be found in them, and that the acquisition of a knowledge of the languages which were the keys to these treasures should be the first object of education. Other influences tended in the same direction. Latin was the language of the fathers, of the offices of the Church, and of the Holy Scriptures. It was the language in which nearly all learned

be given them to kneel on. The boys (I mean the young fellows) had their foreheads turned up and stiffened with spittle. They were to stand mannerly forsooth, one hand at their band-string, the other behind the breech. The gentlewomen had prodigious fans; with these the daughters were often slashed and corrected. Sir Edward Coke rode the circuit with such a fan, and the Earl of Manchester used such a one. At Oxford the rod was often used by the tutors and deans; and Dr. Potter, of Trinity Hall, I know right well, whipped his pupil with a sword by his side, when he came to take leave of him to go to the Inns of Court.'

works, theological, philosophical, political, and scientific, continued to be written down to the close of the seventeenth century. Greek was the key to the study of the New Testament in the original, and one of the weapons which were found most effective by the Reformers in their contest with Rome. 'The papal system,' says Mr. Quick, 'was connected, in the minds of the Reformers, with scholastic subtleties, monkish Latin, and ignorance of Greek; the Reformation itself, with the revival of classical learning. Their opponents, the Jesuits, also fostered Latin as the language of the Church, and taught Greek as necessary for controversy. So, for a time, the effect of the Reformation was to confine instruction more exclusively to the classical languages. The old trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) had recognised, at least in name, a course of instruction in what was then the cyclopædia of knowledge. But now all the great schoolmasters—Ascham in England, Sturm in Germany, the Jesuits everywhere—thought of nothing but Latin and Greek.'<sup>1</sup>

Here and there a man of independent genius, like Montaigne or Milton, formed a true estimate of the value of the dead languages; but, at the same time, recognised the fact that they might, in Montaigne's phrase, 'be bought too dearly.' They saw very clearly that there are faculties of the human mind which literary studies leave wholly undeveloped, that there are other studies and other departments of knowledge which have a wider practical utility in the various relations of life, and that the true aim of a classical education should be not to enable the student to produce imitations of classical models in a dead language, but to acquaint him with what is best worth knowing in ancient literature, to enlarge his views by transporting his mind to distant scenes and distant periods, to stimulate him to independent investigation of truth and to the production of original works in his mother-tongue. For nearly three centuries educational innovators insisted on these obvious truths, but until very recently without success. The spell cast upon education at the Renaissance remained unbroken right down to our own time, and is not wholly dispelled even now. The best

<sup>1</sup> *Educational Reformers*, p. 31.

efforts of teachers were devoted to providing boys (irrespective of their future work in life) with keys to treasures which only a very small number ever opened, to the utter neglect of other, and still more valuable, branches of learning which lay at their feet, and could be mastered without any such keys. Education, in the true sense of the word, was wholly lost sight of in a narrow system of instruction, which cultivated only one side of the mind, and had little relevance to the actual needs of life. 'We learn,' says Locke, 'not to live, but to dispute, and our education fits us rather for the university than for the world. But it is no wonder if those who make the fashion suit it to what they have, and not to what the pupils want.' In the same vein, Fuller, with his usual quaintness, remarks: 'Our common education is not intended to render us good and wise, but learned; it hath not taught us to follow and embrace virtue and prudence, but hath imprinted in us their derivation and etymology; it hath chosen out for us not such books as contain the soundest and truest opinions, but those that speak the best Greek and Latin; and, by these rules, has instilled into our fancy the vainest humours of antiquity. But a good education alters the judgment and manners. . . . 'Tis a silly conceit that men without languages are also without understanding. It's apparent in all ages that some such have even been prodigies of ability; for *it's not to be believed that Wisdom speaks to her disciples only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.*'

The methods of education were as defective as its aims were narrow. It might have been expected that, inasmuch as Latin and Greek were almost the sole subjects of instruction, they would have been taught thoroughly well; but the reverse was actually the case.<sup>1</sup> Although Colet had recommended schoolmasters to teach Latin through the study and imitation of good authors, and to 'leave the rules;' although Ascham had shown how rules could be best taught in connexion with the authors studied, whereas 'the grammar alone by itself is tedious for the master, hard for the scho-

<sup>1</sup> 'We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year,'—Milton's *Tractate of Education*.

lar, cold and uncomfortable for them both ;' although Montaigne had shown by his own example (if such a transparent truth needed showing) that Latin might be learnt conversationally as easily as one's mother tongue ; although Ratich, Comenius, and others had pointed out again and again the absurdity of commencing a language by the study of definitions and rules ; the practice of 'grounding' children in the Latin grammar before they approached an author continued undisturbed down to our own time. To make matters worse, Greek grammars and Greek dictionaries were written in Latin. Sydney Smith draws an amusing picture of a child at a public school puzzling his way through a Greek author with the assistance of Hederich's Lexicon, and trying to select, out of the hundred and two meanings of the seventeen Latin equivalents of βάλλω, the precise meaning of the word in the passage before him.<sup>1</sup> We have given up the practice of teaching one unknown language through another only slightly less unknown, but we have yet much to do in graduating the difficulties which the study of a dead language presents, and in presenting them at the age when they can be best grappled with.

The immobility of the art of education during the period of which I have been treating is easily accounted for. The teachers served no apprenticeship to their profession,<sup>2</sup> which they often adopted merely as a stepping-

<sup>1</sup> 'A boy who sits down to Greek with lexicon and grammar has to master an unknown character of an unknown language ; to look out words in a lexicon, in the use of which he is inexpert ; to guess, by many trials, in which of the numerous senses detailed in the lexicon he is to use the word ; to attend to the inflexions of cases and tense ; to become acquainted with the syntax of the language, and to become acquainted with these inflexions and this syntax from books written in foreign languages, and full of the most absurd and barbarous terms ; and this at the tenderest age, when the mind is utterly unfit to grapple with any great difficulty ; and the boy who revolts at all this folly and absurdity is set down for a dunce, and must go into a marching regiment or on board a man-of-war !'—*Review of Hamilton's 'Method of Teaching Languages.'* Works, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> This continues to be the case, though efforts are now being made to supply the deficiency. 'Le professorat des écoles anglaises,' say MM. Demogeot and Montucci, the French Commissioners who reported on our primary schools, 'nous semble en somme inférieur à celui de nos lycées, non pour le talent et la capacité des hommes, mais

stone to something better, or as a refuge from something worse ; they often entered upon their duties with a slender stock of learning, which they had no inducement, beyond the love of knowledge, to increase ; and each generation had to go through the same cycle of blundering experiments, at the expense of its pupils, as its predecessors. There was no ever-swelling tide of technical traditions in the teaching profession. There was no science of education. That a child's body and mind are both alike subject to inviolable laws, that the two are so closely related that nothing can affect the one which does not affect the other, that it is the teacher's duty to accommodate his methods to these laws and not to seek to impose laws of his own upon the child, that, in short, the only way of educating and controlling a child is by following nature, were truths but imperfectly apprehended and, certainly, rarely acted on. The main fact which the old schoolmasters appear to have clearly seized with regard to the human soul was, as Carlyle says, ' that it had a faculty called memory, and could be acted on through the muscular integument by appliance of birch rods.' It is needless to remark that they freely utilised this modicum of mental physiology, though without producing any remarkable educational results. The body of a child was always to be got at, even if his mind was not apparent ; and his discoloured skin bore testimony to the pains taken with him by his master, even if his attainments did not.

It may be said that our old public and grammar schools, in spite of the defects that have been pointed out, produced numbers of great men and able scholars. It would be truer, perhaps, to say that these great men and able scholars achieved their distinction in spite of the vicious system under which they were educated. Seeing that nearly

par le vice de l'organisation. L'enseignement en Angleterre n'est pas une carrière qui a son apprentissage, son noviciat, son avancement, ses distinctions, son éméritat. L'absence d'une école normale supérieure réduit le jeune maître à son expérience d'élève et à ses tâtonnements personnels.' It is true the masters in our public schools are usually men of ability and brilliant scholarship, and that they bring to their work trained minds quick to learn ; but no mere intellectual ability or scholarship can compensate ignorance of the laws of child life and mental development, and want of familiarity with the history and technicalities of what is in large part a practical craft.

all the gentle youth of England passed through our public schools, it ought not to be surprising that some of the geniuses among them succeeded in distinguishing themselves. The true test of a system of education is not the number of geniuses produced under it, but what it does for the child of average capacity and application. Applying this test to the old schools, it would appear from contemporary evidence that they were most unsatisfactory ; and the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, published so lately as 1864, shows that the old condition of things had not been greatly improved upon even then. 'At the matriculations of the colleges,' says the Dean of Christchurch, 'very few can construe with accuracy a piece from an author they profess to have read. We never try them with an unseen passage. It would be useless to do so. . . . The answers we get in arithmetic do not encourage us to examine them in Euclid or algebra. . . . In the examination named "responsions," which occurs so early at the University that it is a test of school work—a very low test—out of 168 candidates on one occasion, 67 failed. Of these it has been proved, by analysis of the papers, that 43 failed so universally as to show that they were utterly unfit to undergo any examination whatever.'<sup>1</sup> The testimony from representatives of Cambridge and London University was to the same effect. Dr. Smith, the classical examiner at the London University, said: 'Judging both from the examinations in the University of London and from the examinations I have conducted elsewhere, I have rarely met with boys who can translate the easiest piece of Latin or Greek *ad aperturam libri*. . . . I think that if the boys had acquired a fair knowledge of Latin or Greek there might be something to be said for the present system ; but seeing that they hardly learn any Latin or Greek, there could be no harm in trying to introduce some other subjects which they might learn.

'*Lord Stanley*: You think, then, that there is, at the same time, a somewhat too exclusive devotion to classical teaching, and then that that very classical teaching to which other things are sacrificed is inaccurately and imperfectly carried on?—Yes, that is my opinion.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by R. Quain, F.R.S. (*On some Defects in General Education*, p. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Quoted *op. cit.* pp. 31, 32.

If such were the results of the education given in our public schools twenty years ago, we may imagine what sort of an education was given when Locke was a boy at Westminster. 'He found, in fact,' says Hallam, 'everything wrong; a false system of reward and punishment, a false view of the objects of education, a false selection of studies, false methods of pursuing them.'

His 'Thoughts concerning Education' grew out of a series of private letters addressed to his friend, Edward Clarke, of Chipley. These letters were written in an easy familiar style, which was suffered to remain unelaborated when they were collected and arranged for publication. Their value would appear to have been highly appreciated even in their MS. form; for Locke says to Mr. Clarke in his dedicatory letter: 'The importunity of friends is the common apology for publications men are afraid to own themselves forward to. But you know I can truly say, that if some, who having heard of these papers of mine had not pressed to see them, and afterwards to have them printed, they had lain dormant still in that privacy they were designed for. . . . I myself have been consulted of late by so many, who profess themselves at a loss how to breed their children, and the early corruption of youth is now become so general a complaint, that he cannot be thought wholly impertinent, who brings the consideration of this matter on the stage, and offers something, if it be but to excite others, or afford matter of correction; for *errors in education should be less indulged than any.*'

Recognising very imperfectly the physical side of the mind, and the effect of environment and heredity in differentiating individuals, Locke entertained what the most enthusiastic advocates of education would now, perhaps, consider an exaggerated opinion of the services which education is capable of rendering to mankind. In the early part of his Essay he says: 'I think I may say that of all the men we meet with, nine parts out of ten are what they are, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little or almost insensible impressions on our tender infancies have very important and lasting consequences; and there it is, as in the fountains of some rivers, where a gentle application of



the hand turns the flexible waters into channels that make them take quite contrary courses ; and by this little direction given them at first in the source, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at last in very remote and distant places' (p. 60). On this passage Hallam very justly remarks: 'Nothing would be easier than to confirm the contrary proposition by such fanciful analogies from external nature. In itself the position is hyperbolical to extravagance. It is no more disparagement to the uses of education, that it will not produce the like effects upon every individual, than it is to those of agriculture (I purposely use this sort of idle analogy) that we do not reap the same quantity of corn from every soil. Those who are conversant with children on a large scale will, I believe, unanimously deny this levelling efficacy of tuition. The variety of character even in children of the same family, where the domestic associations of infancy have run in the same trains, and where many physical congenialities may produce, and ordinarily do produce, a moral resemblance, is of sufficiently frequent occurrence to prove that in human beings there are intrinsic dissimilarities which no education can essentially overcome.' The exaggeration is, however, a very pardonable one, and should not be allowed to weaken the force of the truth out of which it grows. Human nature is indefinitely improvable. Unless the teacher start with this conviction, his aims will be narrow and unsustained by any noble enthusiasm. It is by believing in great things that great things are done. I can see nothing more likely to paralyse a teacher and convert him into a mere machine than a conviction that the characters and abilities of his pupils are all finally and unalterably determined by their antecedents. Though he cannot alter the nature of the material in which he works, he may fashion that material into almost any shape he will, so long as he observes the laws of its being.

Locke's views of the objects of education are those of a utilitarian possessed of high moral purposes. The first aim of the teacher, he tells us, should be to help his pupil in forming the habit of self-control. 'The great principle and foundation of all virtue and work is placed in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclina-

tions, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way.' (§ 33.) 'He that has not mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the importunity of present pleasure or pain, for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger of never being good for anything.' (§ 45.) Locke's ideal 'gentleman,' for the direction of whose education the *Essay* is specially intended, is 'to have the knowledge of a man of business, a carriage suitable to his rank, and to be eminent and useful in his country, according to his station.' (§ 94.) 'The great work of a governor is to fashion the carriage, and form the mind; to settle in his pupil good habits and the principles of virtue and wisdom, to give him by little and little a view of mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy; and in the prosecution of it to give him vigour, activity, and industry. The studies which he sets him upon, are but, as it were, the exercises of his faculties, and employment of his mind to keep him from sauntering and idleness, to teach him application, and accustom him to take pains, and to give him some little taste of what his own industry must perfect. For who expects that under a tutor a young gentleman should be an accomplished critic, orator, or logician; go to the bottom of metaphysics, natural philosophy, or mathematics; or be a master in history or chronology? Though something of each of these is to be taught him; but it is only to open the door, that he may look in, and as it were begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there; and a governor would be much to be blamed, that should keep his pupil too long, and lead him too far in most of them. But of good breeding, knowledge of the world, virtue, industry, and a love of reputation, he cannot have too much; and if he have these, he will not long want what he needs or desires of the other. And since it cannot be hoped he should have time and strength to learn all things, most pains should be taken about that which is most necessary; and that principally looked after, which will be of most and frequentest use to him in the world.' (§ 94.) Similarly he says, in speaking of a young gentleman's studies, 'his tutor should remember that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable,

as to raise in him a love and esteem of knowledge, and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himself, when he has a mind to it.' (§ 194.)

Locke attaches only a subordinate value to learning in itself. The great aim which the teacher should keep before him is not the communication of knowledge, but the formation of habits. 'The great thing to be minded in education,' he says, 'is what habits you settle; and therefore in this [he is speaking of the habit of drinking at unseasonable times], as all other things, *do not begin to make anything customary, the practice whereof you would not have continue and increase.*' (§ 18.) He looks forward to the time when children will be grown up and be emancipated from school and parental control; and he sees very clearly that it is only confirmed habits that will avail at such a time to enable them to resist temptation. 'Every man,' he says, 'must some time or other be trusted to himself and his own conduct; *and he that is a good, a virtuous and able man, must be made so within.* And, therefore, what he is to receive from education, what is to sway and influence his life, must be something put into his virtues; habits woven into the very principles of his nature, and not a counterfeit carriage, and dissembled outside, put on by fear, only to avoid the present anger of a father, who perhaps may disinherit him.'<sup>1</sup> (§ 42.)

His insistence upon the importance of the formation of good habits is, I should say, the distinctive excellence of Locke's treatise. He urges it in every possible connexion—with regard to bodily habits, mental habits, social habits, moral habits.

<sup>1</sup> To the same effect speaks Lord Bacon in his essay *Of Custom and Education*:—'Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. . . . Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to get good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years. This we call education, which is, in effect, an early custom. So we see in languages, the tone is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more subtle to all feats of activity in motives in youth than afterwards. . . . But if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater. For then example teacheth, company comforteth [i.e. strengtheneth], emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation.'

He never allows the reader to lose sight, for a single moment, of the permanent character of the results of every form of early influence. Much as he is disposed to extol the power of reason, he recognises in habit a still stronger power, '*habits working more constantly, and with greater facility than reason, which, when we have most need of it, is seldom fairly consulted, and more rarely obeyed.*' (§ 110.)

It will be observed that Locke does not start with any philosophical survey of the faculties of mind and body, and then discuss the means by which those faculties may be adequately and symmetrically developed. Nearly all his advice is based upon the qualifications requisite to enable a gentleman to discharge his duties in life. He has nothing to do with human nature in the abstract, nor with any concrete form of it except a gentleman. He does not contemplate the education of scholars or merchants; or of what he calls 'the abhorred rascality.' This restriction of aim somewhat lessens the value of his treatise, but it contributes to its practical character, and it has the advantage of fixing the reader's ideas. Education covers a wide area, and its aims and methods will necessarily vary with the class of children who have to be educated. We always know precisely, in reading Locke, what class of children he has in view.

In estimating the relative value of different kinds of knowledge, Locke pays little attention to their value as instruments of mental discipline, his invariable test of the value of any subject being its use in after-life. 'Latin,' he says, 'I look upon as absolutely necessary to a gentleman; and indeed custom, which prevails over everything, has made it so much a part of education, that even those children are whipped to it, and made spend many hours of their precious time uneasily in Latin, who, after they are once gone from school, are never more to have anything to do with it as long as they live. Can there be anything more ridiculous, than that a father should waste his own money and his son's time in setting him to learn the Roman language, when at the same time he designs him for a trade, wherein he, having no use for Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from school, and which it is ten to one he abhors for the ill-usage it procured him? Could it be believed, unless we had everywhere amongst us examples

of it, that a child should be forced to learn the rudiments of a language which he is never to use in the course of life that he is designed to, and neglect all the while the writing a good hand, and casting accounts, which are of great advantage in all conditions of life, and to most trades indispensably necessary? But though these qualifications, requisite to trade and commerce, and the business of the world, are seldom or never to be had at grammar schools, yet thither not only gentlemen send their younger sons intended for trades, but even tradesmen and farmers fail not to send their children, though they have neither intention nor ability to make them scholars. If you ask them why they do this, they think it as strange a question as if you should ask them why they go to church. Custom serves for reason, and has, to those who take it for reason, so consecrated this method, that it is almost religiously observed by them, and they stick to it, as if their children had scarce an orthodox education, unless they learned Lilly's Grammar.' (§ 164.) Locke would have been content with a very small amount even of Latin. He inveighs in the strongest terms against employing children in making 'Latin themes and declamations, and, least of all, verses of any kind.'

'You may insist on it,' he says when directing a parent what to stipulate for in sending his son to school, 'that you have no design to make him either a Latin orator or poet, but *barely would have him understand perfectly a Latin author.*'

His chief objections against themes and verses are that it is preposterous to set a child to write before he has ideas to express, and that the difficulty of writing in a strange language should not be further increased by adding to it the difficulty of invention.

Of verses he says: 'If these may be any reasons against children's making Latin themes at school, I have much more to say, and of much more weight; against their making verses; verses of any sort: for if he has no genius to poetry, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to torment a child, and waste his time about that which never can succeed; and if he have a poetic vein, it is to me the strangest thing in the world that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labour to have it stifled and suppressed as

much as it may be ; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business.' (§ 174.) Locke has other reasons for discouraging versifying, as that a successful rhymers and wit may get into bad company and waste his time and estate too ; 'for it is very seldom seen that one discovers mines of gold or silver in Parnassus. It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil ; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by anything they have reaped from thence.' This is a sordid argument happily expressed. Locke, though not destitute of poetic fancy, as many exquisite passages from his writings might be adduced to show, is scarcely a competent guide as to the value of poetry, if we may judge from his eulogiums on Sir Richard Blackmore, of whom his correspondent, Mr. Molyneux, says : 'All our English poets (except Milton) have been mere ballad-makers, in comparison to him' !—an opinion which Locke seems to endorse. Indeed he would appear to have been generally lacking in appreciation of the refining influences of art in all its forms. He never refers to the literature of the imagination, and he sees in music and painting only accomplishments not worth the pains spent upon their acquisition.

Locke, while admitting that 'amongst the Grecians is to be found the original, as it were, and foundation of all that learning which we have in this part of the world,' omits Greek from his curriculum. He says : 'I . . . will add that no man can pass for a scholar that is ignorant of the Greek tongue. But I am not here considering the education of a professed scholar, but of a gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the world now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary.' (§ 195.)

Locke was in advance of his age in recognising the importance of the study of English. He does not think that a gentleman ought to be content with expressing himself in any fashion provided he is understood. 'He ought,' he says, 'to study grammar amongst the other helps of speaking well, but it must be the grammar of his own tongue, of the language he uses, that he may understand his own country speech nicely, and speak it properly, without shocking the ears of those it is addressed to, with solecisms and offensive

irregularities. . . . It will be matter of wonder why young gentlemen are forced to learn the grammar of foreign and dead languages, and are never told of the grammar of their own tongues ; they do not so much as know there is any such thing, much less is it made their business to be instructed in it. Nor is their own language ever proposed to them as worthy their care and cultivating, though they have daily use of it, and are not seldom, in the future course of their lives, judged of by their handsome or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the languages, whose grammars they have been so much employed in, are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write ; or if, upon occasion, this should happen, they shall be excused for the mistakes and faults they make in it. Would not a Chinese, who took notice of this way of breeding, be apt to imagine that all our young gentlemen were designed to be teachers and professors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of business in their own ? ' <sup>1</sup> (§ 168.) We have been a long time in coming to recognise the importance of the study of our own language and literature. Just now there is some risk lest English grammar and literature should both be over-ridden by philology and verbal criticism. Syntax, the part of grammar on which Locke would have most insisted, is almost lost sight of in the historical study of the language—a most valuable study in its proper place—and our classics are buried under the notes of philological commentators.

Locke includes in his course arithmetic, bookkeeping, astronomy, geography, chronology, history, geometry, ana-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lowe, speaking on the same subject, says : ' We have, I here say boldly, a literature unparalleled in the world. Which of our great classical authors is a young man required to read in order to attain the honours our educational institutions can give him ? He studies, in the most minute manner, the ancient writings of Rome and Greece. But as for Chaucer and Spenser, or the earlier classics, the older dramatists, or the writers of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Charles I., he knows nothing ; and the consequence is that our style is impoverished, and the noble old language of our forefathers drops out of use, while the minds of our young men are employed instead in stringing together scraps of Latin poets learned by heart, and making them into execrable hexameters.' The ground for this reproach is now, to some slight extent, swept away.

tomy, civil law, and the laws of England. He thinks the first six books of Euclid enough to be taught by a tutor. If a boy 'have a genius and inclination for it, he will be able to go on of himself without a teacher.' With geography, chronology ought to go hand in hand. Without these two, '*history, which is the great mistress of prudence and civil knowledge, and ought to be the proper study of a gentleman, or man of business in the world,* will be very ill retained, and very little useful.' Ethics are to be taught more by practice than rules. A young child will learn what he needs of morals out of the Bible; a boy who can read Latin well may study ethics systematically out of Tully's 'Offices' and Puffendorf 'De Officiis Hominis et Civis.' Civil law is to be studied out of Grotius 'De Jure Belli et Pacis,' and Puffendorf 'De Jure naturali et Gentium.' '*This general part of civil law and history,*' says Locke, '*are studies which a gentleman should not barely touch at, but constantly dwell upon, and never have done with.* A virtuous and well-behaved young man, that is well versed in the general part of the civil law (which concerns not the chicane of private cases, but the affairs and intercourse of civilised nations in general, grounded upon principles of reason), understands Latin well, and can write a good hand, one may turn loose into the world, with great assurance that he will find employment and esteem everywhere.' (§ 186.) The law which Locke contemplates is what we should now call constitutional history. (See note on § 187.) Locke has little faith in the value of logic and rhetoric to young people. He says: 'If you would have your son reason well, let him read Chillingworth; and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully, to give him the true idea of eloquence, and let him read those things that are well writ in English, to perfect his style in the purity of our language.' The wretched, unpractical treatises on these subjects formerly in use probably influenced Locke in his condemnation of logic and rhetoric; but the subjects themselves are unsuited to the capacities of children. The best logical training for the young is that which uniformly insists, no matter what the subject of instruction may be, on clear ideas, accurate definition, scientific classification, and strict reasoning; the best training in rhetoric is the cultivation



of the power of expressing simply, clearly, and forcibly, both in conversation and in writing, such ideas as the child possesses. Both logic and rhetoric should be practised as arts before they are studied as sciences.

Locke has some admirable remarks on style. 'To write and speak correctly,' he says, 'gives a grace, and gains a favourable attention to what one has to say ; and since it is English that an English gentleman will have constant use of, that is the language he should chiefly cultivate, and wherein most care should be taken to polish and perfect his style. To speak or write better Latin than English, may make a man be talked of, but he will find it more to his purpose to express himself well in his own tongue, that he uses every moment, than to have the vain commendation of others for a very insignificant quality. This I find universally neglected, and no care taken anywhere to improve young men in their own language, that they may thoroughly understand and be masters of it. If any one among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother tongue, it is owing to chance, or his genius, or anything, rather than to his education, or to any care of his teacher. To mind what English his pupil speaks or writes, is below the dignity of one bred up amongst Greek and Latin, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned languages fit only for learned men to meddle with and teach ; English is the language of the illiterate vulgar ; though yet we see the polity of some of our neighbours<sup>1</sup> have not thought it beneath the public care to promote and reward the improvement of their own language.' (§ 199.)

At present physical science is widely advocated as a necessary part of all school training,<sup>2</sup> but more especially in

<sup>1</sup> Locke was thinking of the efforts of the French Academy. See note 1, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> 'If there were no more to be said than that scientific education teaches us to think, and literary education to express our thoughts, do we not require both? And is not any one a poor, maimed, lop-sided fragment of humanity who is deficient in either?' (J. S. Mill.) One of the advantages which Locke looked for from teaching Latin conversationally was that it would afford more time for 'several sciences ; such as are a good part of geography, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, besides some parts of history, and all other parts of knowledge of things that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory ;

the case of boys who have no taste or aptitude for the study of language. When Locke wrote, there was scarcely a department of physical science, with the exception of astronomy, which had been sufficiently matured for school-teaching. He says: 'Natural philosophy, as a speculative science, I imagine, we have none, and perhaps I may think I have a reason to say we never shall be able to make a science of it. The works of nature are contrived by a wisdom, and operate by ways, too far surpassing our faculties to discover, or capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them to a science.' He had doubtless in view general systems of the universe, such as that of Descartes and those of the ancients. He does not disapprove of the study of nature. He recommends 'such writers as have employed themselves in making rational experiments and observations, rather than in starting barely speculative systems,' and instances the writings of Mr. Boyle, and others who have treated of husbandry, planting, gardening, and the like. He speaks in high terms of 'the incomparable Mr. Newton,' and thinks that though there are very few who have mathematics enough to understand his demonstrations, yet 'his book will deserve to be read, and give no small light and pleasure to those who, willing to understand the motions, properties, and operations of the great masses of matter, in this our solar system, will but carefully mind his conclusions.' (§ 194.)

Locke's curriculum would not leave much room for what are called accomplishments. He thinks highly of dancing, as giving graceful motions and, above all things, manliness and a becoming confidence to young children. Music he objects to because it wastes so much of a young man's time to gain but a moderate skill in it, and leads him into 'odd

for there, if we would take the true way, our knowledge should begin, and in these things should be laid the foundations; and not in the abstract notions of logic and metaphysics, which are fitter to amuse than inform the understanding in its first setting out towards knowledge.' Few students of science would agree with Locke in regarding the truths to which it relates as requiring 'little more than memory;' but he insists on a right principle—one, indeed, leading direct from his system of philosophy—when he recommends that the mind should be stored with ideas derived from the world around us, before it is exercised in dealing with abstractions.

company.' The first objection does not lie against vocal music, which is gradually making its way in our public schools, and, with regard to the second, it may be safely said that a taste for music now more frequently keeps a young man out of bad company than leads him into it. The leisure of life should be provided for as well as the business of life. Painting is objected to because it is a sedentary recreation, and to attain a tolerable skill in it requires too much time; but he would have a young gentleman possess 'so much insight into perspective and skill in drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on paper anything he sees except faces.' Fencing and riding are both recommended as good exercises for health, and the latter a useful accomplishment both in peace and war.

Locke would have a gentleman learn one manual trade, both for the sake of the skill he may get in it and for the sake of the exercise. In this opinion he was followed by Rousseau. Workshops have now been started at several of our public schools, and are much appreciated by the boys. A manual art is not only an agreeable relief to intellectual occupations, but imparts a handiness and a familiarity with mechanical expedients that are universally valuable. Locke mentions such arts as gardening, husbandry in general, carpentry, joinery, turning, delving, planting, grafting, perfuming, varnishing, graving, working in iron, brass, and silver; cutting, polishing, and setting precious stones, and grinding and polishing optical glasses.

Locke is fully alive to the advantages of travel, but thinks the most advantageous age for going abroad to learn languages is from seven to fourteen. Travel, as a means of enlarging experience, he would defer until a youth was old enough to dispense with a tutor's supervision. In these counsels most persons would agree with him. To reap the full benefit of visiting foreign countries, the mind must be previously stored with a knowledge of their history, literature, and art, so that it may know what to look for, and enjoy the pleasure which the associations of the past are capable of giving to the present. 'The eye,' said Coleridge, 'sees what it brings with it the power of seeing;' and, if the mind behind it is not duly trained and informed, it can derive

little profit or pleasure from the beauties of nature, the monuments of antiquity, or the wonders of art.

Such, then, were the departments of knowledge and the accomplishments which it would be necessary to include in the curriculum of Locke's ideal gentleman. But where and how was he to be taught? Locke's recollections of Westminster were not favourable to public school education; nor did it seem to him possible that any public school could secure those favourable conditions for the formation of good habits on which he set so much store. He sees very clearly the disadvantages of private tuition, but nevertheless decides in favour of it. 'You will say, "What shall I do with my son? If I keep him always at home, he will be in danger to be my young master; and if I send him abroad [i.e. away from home, not necessarily to foreign countries], how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of rudeness and vice, which is everywhere so in fashion? In my house he will, perhaps, be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world; wanting there change of company, and being used constantly to the same faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a sheepish or conceited creature."'

'I confess, both sides have their inconveniences. Being abroad, it is true, will make him bolder, and better able to bustle and shift among boys of his own age; and the emulation of schoolfellows often puts life and industry into young lads. But till you can find a school, wherein it is possible for the master to look after the manners of his scholars, and can show as great effects of his care of forming their minds to virtue, and their carriage to a good breeding, as of forming their tongues to the learned languages, you must confess that you have a strange value for words, when preferring the languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans to that which made them such brave men, you think it worth while to hazard your son's innocence and virtue for a little Greek and Latin. For as for that boldness and spirit which lads get amongst their playfellows at school, it has ordinarily such a mixture of rudeness and ill-turned confidence, that those misbecoming and disingenuous ways of shifting in the world must be unlearned, and all the tincture washed out again, to make way for better principles and such manners as make a truly worthy man. . . . Virtue

is harder to be got than a knowledge of the world ; and if lost in a young man, is seldom recovered. Sheepishness and ignorance of the world, the faults imputed to a private education, are neither the necessary consequences of being bred at home, nor, if they were, are they incurable evils. Vice is the most stubborn as well as the most dangerous evil of the two ; and therefore in the first place to be fenced against. If that sheepish softness, which often enervates those who are bred like fondlings at home, be carefully to be avoided, it is principally so for virtue's sake ; for fear lest such a yielding temper should be too susceptible of vicious impressions, and expose the novice too easily to be corrupted. . . . It is preposterous, therefore, to sacrifice his innocence to the attaining of confidence, and some little skill of bustling for himself among others, by his conversation with ill-bred and vicious boys ; when the chief use of that sturdiness and standing upon his own legs, is only for the preservation of his virtue. For if confidence or cunning come once to mix with vice and support his miscarriages, he is only the surer lost. . . . How any one's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys, and there learning to wrangle at trap, or rook at span-farthing, fits him for civil conversation or business, I do not see. . . . I am sure, he who is able to be at the charge of a tutor at home, may there give his son a more genteel carriage, more manly thoughts, and a sense of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater proficiency in learning into the bargain, and ripen him up sooner into a man, than any school can do. Not that I blame the schoolmaster in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three pupils in the same house, and three or four score boys lodged up and down ; for let the master's industry and skill be never so great, it is impossible he should have fifty or an hundred scholars under his eye, any longer than they are in the school together ; nor can it be expected, that he should instruct them successfully in anything but their books. . . . It is not the waggeries or cheats practised amongst schoolboys, it is not their roughness one to another, or the well-laid plots of robbing an orchard together, that make an able man ; but the principles of justice, generosity, and sobriety, joined with observation and industry, qualities which I judge schoolboys

do not learn much of one another. And if a young gentleman bred at home be not taught more of them than he could learn at school, his father has made ill choice of a tutor.'

It will be observed that Locke compares public schools as they were with private tuition as it might be, a manifestly unfair line of argument, unless it can be shown, on the one side, that the defects of public schools are inseparable from the system, and, on the other, where such a private tutor as is described is to be obtained. Without going into the whole question of public schools *versus* private tuition, it may be pointed out that under the more enlightened methods and organisation of modern education, and, what is of far greater importance, the increased sense of responsibility of modern teachers, many of the evils of public school education have been vastly diminished. It is true that at a private school or at home a child may receive more individual attention, both as regards his morals and his intellectual progress, but he loses the education which boys get in associating with boys; he loses the enormous advantage of being taught different subjects by specialists, and the further advantage of the stimulus afforded by the generous emulation which exists in a large body.<sup>1</sup> No single tutor can know well every subject that a boy ought to be taught. Even though he may know more of a subject than the boy will have to learn, it does not follow that he is fit to teach it. Every subject should, as far as possible, be taught by a master of it, who knows it all round, and who knows, therefore, the side on which it can be best presented to a boy's mind, who will command respect and confidence by the fulness and accuracy

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Johnson said very sensibly on this point, though in magniloquent phraseology which somewhat amuses the reader: 'At a great school there is all the splendour and illumination of many minds; the radiance of all is concentrated in each, or, at least, reflected upon each. But we must own that neither a dull boy, nor an idle boy, will do so well at a great school as at a private one. For at a great school there are always boys enough to do well easily, who are sufficient to keep up the credit of the school; and after whipping being tried to no purpose, the dull or idle boys are left at the end of a class, having the appearance of going through the course, but learning nothing at all. Such boys may do good at a private school, where constant attention is paid to them, and they are watched. So that the question of public or private education is not properly a general one; but whether one or the other is best for my son.' (Boswell, p. 291.)

of his knowledge, and who will set up a high standard of excellence for his pupils to aim at. That there are still many remediable abuses in our public schools is unquestionable, though it is satisfactory to know they are gradually disappearing. 'At a public school,' says Sydney Smith, '(for such is the system established by immemorial custom), every boy is alternately tyrant and slave. The power which the elder part of these communities exercises over the younger is exceedingly great, very difficult to be controlled, and accompanied not unfrequently with cruelty and caprice. It is the common law of the place that the young should be implicitly obedient to the elder boys; and this obedience resembles more the submission of a slave to his master, or of a sailor to his captain, than the common and natural deference which would always be shown by one boy to another a few years older than himself.' It is clear that such a system must subject many a boy, and more especially a weak boy unable to protect himself against tyranny, to years of misery, and tend to produce the worst effects upon his temper and moral character.

Then, again, at our public schools there appears to be too easy a tolerance of idleness. The prospect of being dismissed from the school if, by a certain age, he does not reach a certain standard, is too remote a dread to have any very powerful deterrent influence on an idle boy in a low form. He needs some pressure that shall be more immediate and ever present to his mind. Sydney Smith says on this point: 'The best school is that which is best accommodated to the greatest variety of characters, and which embraces the greatest number of cases. It cannot be the main object of education to render the splendid more splendid, and to lavish care upon those who would almost thrive without any care at all. A public school does this effectually; but *it commonly leaves the idle almost as idle, and the dull almost as dull, as it found them. It disdains the tedious cultivation of those middling talents, of which only the great mass of human beings are possessed.* When a strong desire of improvement exists, it is encouraged, but no pains are taken to inspire it. A boy is cast in among five or six hundred other boys, and is left to form his own character—if his love of knowledge survive this severe trial, it, in

general, carries him very far ; and, upon the same principle, a savage, who grows up to manhood, is, in general, well made, and free from all bodily defects ; not because the severities of such a state are favourable to animal life, but because they are so much the reverse, that none but the strongest can survive them. A few boys are incorrigibly idle and a few incorrigibly eager for knowledge ; but the great mass are in a state of doubt and fluctuation, and they come to school for the express purpose, not of being left to themselves—for that could be done anywhere—but that their wavering tastes and propensities should be decided by the intervention of a master.

The abuse of athletic sports in public schools is often severely commented on, but it is a less serious evil than the moral evils which are inseparable from unoccupied time, or from the reaction from over-severe study.

A more serious ground of complaint in connexion with our public schools is the expensive and wasteful habits which the boys are allowed to contract. This evil, however, though fostered by the foolish rivalry which must exist between boys in a large school, is mainly referable to the foolish indulgence of weak parents, of whom it may be safely said that, if they spoil their children at school, they would not be likely to exercise a very valuable influence upon them at home.

That form of education would seem to be most desirable which enables a boy to derive the advantages of belonging to a large school, and, at the same time, allows him to live at home. I assume, of course, that home influences are good and favourable for the work of education, an assumption, however, not always justified by facts. The school should be large enough to allow of a good classification of the boys, yet not too large to allow the head master to establish personal relations with every boy who passes through it. A single master can teach thirty or forty boys of equal powers and attainments better than he can teach two or three of unequal qualifications.

Locke's view of the qualifications of a tutor is one that it would not be very easy to satisfy, but is none the less well worthy of consideration. He should be 'a sober man and a scholar ;' 'he should himself be well-bred, understand the



ways of carriage, and measures of civility in all the variety of persons, times, and places, and keep his pupil, as much as his age requires, constantly to the observation of them.' He 'should know the world well : the ways, the humours, the follies, the cheats, the faults of the age he has fallen into, and particularly of the country he lives in.' He should be able to teach Latin conversationally. To secure this paragon of knowledge, virtue, and good breeding, Locke thinks that parents ought to be willing to incur considerable expense. 'As to the charge of it,' he says, 'I think it will be the money best laid out that can be, about our children ; and therefore, though it may be expensive more than is ordinary, yet it cannot be thought dear. He that at any rate procures his child a good mind, well principled, tempered to virtue and usefulness, and adorned with civility and good breeding, makes a better purchase for him, than if he had laid out the money for an addition of more earth to his former acres.' (§ 90.) He recognises the difficulty of finding such a tutor as he describes, 'for those of small age, parts, and virtue, are unfit for this employment, and those that have greater will hardly be got to undertake such a charge ;' but no care or cost is to be spared in getting a suitable man.

How likely persons not in possession of large means would be to secure tutors that approached Locke's standard may be inferred from a passage in one of Mr. Molyneux's letters to Locke. Mr. Molyneux was so smitten with Locke's ideal tutor, that he sought his friend's help in getting such a one on the following terms :—'He should eat at my own table, and have his lodging, washing, firing, and candlelight in my house, in a good handsome apartment ; and besides this I should allow him 20*l.* per annum' !<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tutors were miserably underpaid down to the present century. Steele says (*Guardian*, No. 94) : 'The price, indeed, which is thought a sufficient reward for any advantages a youth can receive from a man of learning, is an abominable consideration ; the enlarging which would not only increase the care of tutors, but would be a very great encouragement to such as designed to take this province upon them, to furnish themselves with a more general and extensive knowledge. As the case now stands, *those of the first quality pay their tutors but little above half so much as they do their footmen* : what morality, what history, what taste of the modern languages, what, lastly, that can make a man happy or great, may not be expected in return for such

Having himself been, through life, delicate, and having paid special attention to medicine, Locke naturally attaches great importance to the healthy development of the physical frame, though he knew little of the close interdependence of mind and body. He says in the opening of his *Essay*: 'I imagine the minds of the children turned this or that way, as water itself; and though this be the principal part, and our main care should be about the inside, yet the clay cottage is not to be neglected. I shall, therefore, begin with the *case*.' Modern science has taught us that the body is something more than a 'case' to some mysterious mental mechanism inside it. It has shown that all our mental operations have physical correlatives, and that the health and vigour of the mind are dependent on the health and vigour of the body as a whole, and more especially of those parts of the body which are the immediate instruments of the mind.

Without pursuing any methodical treatment of the subject, Locke makes some valuable remarks on warmth, swimming, air, habits, clothing, diet, meals, drink, sleep, and medicine. On some of these points he anticipates many of the conclusions of modern science, but on others his advice is to be received with great caution. He recommends 'plenty of open air, exercise, and sleep; plain diet, no wine or strong drink, and very little or no physic; not too warm and strait clothing; especially the head and feet kept cold, and the feet often used to cold water and exposed to wet.' He would advise that the young gentleman's feet should be washed in cold water every day, and that he should 'have his shoes so thin that they might leak and let in water whenever he comes near it.' Locke evidently believed in the hardening system, which is now, I need scarcely say, completely discredited. A wide induction, based upon both the lower animals and upon man, proves conclusively that the creatures which survive the hardening process are not rendered strong by it, but in spite of it, and that good and sufficient food, regular meals, and warmth are indispensable to the highest physical development. The

an immense treasure! It is monstrous, indeed, that the men of the best estates and families are more solicitous about the tutelage of a favourite dog or horse, than of their heirs male.'

weak are killed off in the hardening process ;<sup>1</sup> and even in those cases in which the hardening process seems to be completely successful, it will be found that the success is purchased at the expense of growth. When all, however, has been said against Locke's views on this subject, there can be no question that a little 'healthy neglect' is better than what he calls 'cockering.'

Locke, while disposed to trust to nature in most things, seems afraid to trust natural taste and appetite in the matter of eating and drinking. He would withhold flesh meat from children for the first three or four years of their lives, and even after that would not give it more than once a day, or of more than one sort at a meal. He would have food sparingly seasoned with sugar, and would prohibit all sweet-meats. We have come to believe that, while it is highly inexpedient to give food to children which they cannot digest, their food should, on the whole, be rather more than less nutritive than that of adults, seeing that they have not only to compensate for waste, and for a radiation of heat greater

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Herbert Spencer says : ' Among the sensations serving for our guidance are those of heat and cold ; and a clothing which does not carefully consult these sensations is to be condemned. The common notion about "hardening" is a grievous delusion. Not a few children are "hardened" out of the world ; and those who survive permanently suffer either in growth or constitution. . . . The reasoning on which this hardening theory rests is extremely superficial. Wealthy parents, seeing little peasant boys and girls playing about in the open air only half-clothed, and joining with this fact the general healthiness of labouring people, draw the unwarrantable conclusion that the healthiness is the result of the exposure, and resolve to keep their own offspring scantily covered ! It is forgotten that these urchins who gambol upon village greens are in many respects favourably circumstanced—that their lives are spent in almost perpetual play ; that they are all day breathing fresh air ; and that their systems are not disturbed by overtaxed brains. . . . When, the constitution being sound enough to bear it, exposure does produce hardness, it does so at the expense of growth. This truth is displayed alike in animals and in man. Shetland ponies bear greater inclemencies than the horses of the south, but are dwarfed. Highland sheep and cattle, living in a colder climate, are stunted in comparison with English breeds. In both the arctic and antarctic region the human race falls much below its ordinary height ; the Laplanders and the Fuegians are very short ; and the Terra-del-Fuegians, who go naked in a wintry land, are described by Darwin as so stunted and hideous, that "one can hardly make oneself believe that they are fellow-creatures." '—*Educ.* 163-4.

in proportion to their bulk than in the case of adults, but to satisfy the demands of growth. There is something very seductive in the word 'plain' which always affects us sober Englishmen. We like plainness in everything, in food, clothing, habitations, speech, oratory, and with what effect we all know. Our food is unvaried and insipid ; our clothing is plain to the point of ugliness ; our habitations are monotonously devoid of beauty ; our speech is too often blunt to the point of offensiveness ; our orators are often plain to the point of dullness. Everywhere we regard variety and ornament with suspicion. Physiology, on the other hand, teaches the value of a varied and appetising diet. 'The satiety produced by an often-repeated dish,' says Mr. Herbert Spencer, 'and the gratification caused by one long a stranger to the palate, are *not* meaningless, as people carelessly assume ; but they are the incentives to a wholesome diversity of diet. It is a fact established by numerous experiments, that there is scarcely any one food, however good, which supplies in due proportions or right forms all the elements required for carrying on the vital processes in a normal manner ; whence it follows that frequent change of food is desirable to balance the supplies of all the elements. It is a further fact, known to physiologists, that the enjoyment given by a much-liked food is a nervous stimulus which, by increasing the action of the heart and so propelling the blood with increased vigour, aids in the subsequent digestion. And these truths are in harmony with the maxims of modern cattle-feeding, which dictate a rotation of diet.' (p. 160.) The love of children for sweetmeats is something more than a desire to gratify the palate. Sugar is largely consumed in the body as a heat-producer,<sup>1</sup> and, if

<sup>1</sup> Here again I am tempted to quote Mr. Herbert Spencer : 'Both saccharine and fatty matters are eventually oxidised in the body ; and there is a corresponding evolution of heat. Sugar is the form to which sundry other compounds have to be reduced before they are available as heat-making food ; and this *formation* of sugar is carried on in the body. Not only is starch changed into sugar in the course of digestion, but it has been proved by M. Claude Bernard that the liver is a factory in which other constituents of food are transformed into sugar : the need for sugar being so imperative that it is even thus produced from nitrogenous substances when no others are given. Now when to this fact, that children have a marked desire for this valuable heat-food, we

children are not supplied with it, other bodies will be converted into sugar to supply its place. Even as regards the quantity of food which a child should eat, we are beginning to pay more heed to his appetite than to our own preconceived views of what is enough for him. Children rarely eat or drink to excess unless it be when under the influence of a reaction from unwise restrictions; and, even when our over-legislation tempts them to excess, the ill effects of such excess are rarely so serious as those of continued under-feeding.

Locke's remarks on cold water accord with modern practice. 'Tubbing' has become almost universal among the educated classes. But happily we have not yet come to believe that it is wise to provide children with thin boots to admit the wet. It would assuredly be safer to let children run barefoot than to keep their feet always wet. Yet we are told that Lord Ashley, Locke's pupil, though naturally a delicate youth, grew strong under this Spartan mode of treatment. Locke strongly condemns tampering with the body by giving medicine for every little ailment. He would trust largely to dieting and nature's own correctives. Not a few parents, I suspect, will recognise the truth of the following remarks on the over-anxious and misguided cockering of children:

'Is my young master a little out of order, the first question is "What will my dear eat? What shall I get for thee?" Eating and drinking are instantly pressed; and everybody's invention is set on work to find out something luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of appetite, which nature has wisely ordered in the beginning of distempers, as a defence against their increase; that, being freed from the ordinary labour of digesting any new load in the stomach, she may be at leisure to correct and master the peccant humours.'

The reader has already seen the great importance which Locke attached to moral education. The great aim of the

join the fact that they have usually a marked dislike to that food which gives out the greatest amount of heat during oxidation (namely, fat), we have reason for thinking that excess of the one compensates for defect of the other—that the organism demands more sugar because it cannot deal with much fat.' (p. 150.)

teacher, he tells us, should be to train the mind so that 'on all occasions it may be disposed to nothing but what may be suitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational creature.'

To this end children should be accustomed to self-denial from the first, when '*their minds are most tender, most easy to be bowed*;' 'for he that hath been used to have his will in everything, as long as he was in coats, why should we think it strange that he should desire it, and contend for it still, when he is in breeches?' (§ 35.) 'I would advise,' he says, 'that, contrary to the ordinary way, children should be used to submit their desires, and go without their longings, *even from their very cradles*.

The first thing they should learn to know, should be, that they were not to have anything because it pleased them, but because it was thought fit for them. If things suitable to their wants were supplied to them, or that they were never suffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it, would never, with bawling and peevishness, contend for mastery, nor be half so uneasy to themselves and others as they are, because from the first beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never suffered to obtain their desire by the impatience they expressed for it, they would no more cry for other things than they do for the moon.' 'No father himself,' says Hallam, 'Locke neither knew how ill a parent can spare the love of his child, nor how ill a child can want the constant and practical sense of a parent's love.' In the case of very young children, with whom it is impossible to reason, such objects as it is undesirable they should have should be kept out of their way. Until they are capable of understanding the reasons why things are withheld from them, the denial of their requests must often seem the effect of unwillingness on the part of their parents to give them pleasure. To subject an infant to gratuitous privation, as a moral discipline, seems the height of cruelty and folly. Parents who are addicted to this practice would do well to exercise a little self-denial themselves, by removing, from out of the way of their children, objects which excite desires doomed not to be gratified. At a later stage children will escape the temptation to an excessive indulgence of their appetites, if parents will indulge them in such pleasures as, in moderation, do them no harm.

Locke seems to have insufficiently considered the power exerted by the affections as correctives of selfishness. Children who have learned to love their parents, and to know that their parents delight in promoting their happiness, soon learn to acquiesce in those cases where affection is compelled to deny what it would be inexpedient to grant ; and surely it is better that they should restrain their desires out of this deep conviction of parental love than out of a sense of the futility of trying to storm an inflexible will. Long before children can know what is fit for them, they can appreciate the desire of a parent to promote their happiness ; and this appreciation will give birth to affections that may be safely relied on to correct any tendencies to self-will.

On the subject of the severity of Locke's rules Dugald Stewart says :

'To a certain hardness of character, not unfrequently united with an insensibility to the charms of poetry and eloquence, may partly be ascribed the severe and forbidding spirit which has suggested some of the maxims in his "Tract on Education."<sup>1</sup> He had been treated himself, it would appear, with very little indulgence by his parents, and probably was led by that filial veneration which he always expressed for their memory to ascribe to the early habits of self-denial imposed on him by their ascetic system of ethics the existence of those moral qualities which he owed to the regulating influence of his own reason in fostering his natural dispositions, and which, under a gentler and more skilful culture, might have assumed a still more engaging and amiable form. His father, who had served in the Parliament's army, seems to have retained through life that austerity of manners which characterised his puritanical associates ; and notwithstanding the comparative enlargement and cultivation of Mr. Locke's mind, something of this hereditary leaven, if I am not mistaken, continued to operate upon many of his opinions and habits of thinking. If, in the "Conduct of the Understanding," he trusted (as

<sup>1</sup> Such, for example, as this, that 'a child should never be suffered to have what he craves, or *so much as speaks for*, much less if he cries for it !' A maxim (as his correspondent, Molyneux, observes) 'which seems to bear hard on the tender spirits of children and the natural affections of parents.' (Locke's *Works*, vol. ix. p. 319.)

many have thought) too much to nature, and laid too little stress on logical rules, he certainly fell into the opposite extreme in everything connected with the culture of the heart ; distrusting nature altogether, and placing his sole confidence in the effects of a systematical and vigilant discipline. That the great object of education is not to thwart and disturb, but to study the aim, and so facilitate the accomplishment, of her beneficial arrangements, is a maxim, one should think, obvious to common sense ; and yet it is only of late years that it has begun to gain ground even among philosophers. It is but justice to Rousseau to acknowledge that the zeal and eloquence with which he has enforced it go far to compensate the mischievous tendency of some of his other doctrines.'

It is only fair to Locke to say that elsewhere he urges that children should be treated with great tenderness ; but he evidently had too little faith in the affections as motives to obedience.

Of the importance of early cultivating habits of obedience there can be no question. 'Would you,' says Locke, 'have your son obedient to you when past a child, be sure then to establish the authority of a father as soon as he is capable of submission, and can understand in whose power he is. If you would have him stand in awe of you, imprint it in his infancy ; and as he approaches more to a man, admit him nearer to your familiarity ; so shall you have him your obedient subject (as is fit) whilst he is a child, and your affectionate friend when he is a man. For methinks they mightily misplace the treatment due to their children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but severe to them, and keep them at a distance, when they are grown up : for liberty and indulgence can do no good to children ; their want of judgment makes them stand in need of restraint and discipline ; and, on the contrary, imperiousness and severity is but an ill way of treating men, who have reason of their own to guide them, unless you have a mind to make your children when grown up weary of you, and secretly to say within themselves, "When will you die, father?"' (§ 40.) Had Locke been a parent, he might have known that there was no greater need of imperiousness and severity in dealing with infancy than in dealing with



adolescence. Love and reverence are not only quite compatible, but there is no real reverence where there is not love. Distance and imperiousness of manner may produce a slavish terror and servile obedience, but they will not produce loving confidence in parental sympathy, nor that healthy desire of parental approbation which grows out of close and affectionate intercourse.

Though Locke contends that 'whatsoever rigour is necessary it is more to be used the younger children are,' he is strongly opposed to great severity. 'I have spoken so much,' he says, 'of carrying a strict hand over children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough what is due to their tender age and constitutions. But that opinion will vanish when you have heard me a little farther ; for I am very apt to think that great severity of punishment does but very little good, nay, great harm in education ; and I believe it will be found that, *ceteris paribus*, those children, who have been most chastised, seldom make the best men.' The self-denial and ready obedience which he so much insists upon are to be cultivated from the very beginning, so that they may become easy and natural. The cases in which punishment seems absolutely necessary are, for the most part, those in which this early training has been neglected. The child who has been allowed to contract bad habits through parental neglect becomes at last an intolerable nuisance, and then severity seems indispensable to his reformation ; but it is a great mistake to argue from such cases to the treatment needed for children generally. Both parents and teachers often create the very evils which they subsequently employ severity to eradicate. Locke looks at education as a whole, and trusts to the power of early habit to render extreme measures wholly unnecessary in its later stages.

Nor would he have children too much curbed and humbled, 'for extravagant young fellows, that have liveliness and spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make able and great men ; but dejected minds, timorous and tame, and low spirits, are hardly ever to be raised, and very seldom attain to anything. To avoid the danger that is on either hand, is the great art ; and he that has found a way how to keep up a child's spirits, easy, active

and free, and yet at the same time to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneasy to him ; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming contradictions, has, in my opinion, got the *true secret of education*.' Corporal punishment, 'the usual lazy and short way,' he considers the most unfit of any to be used in education, inasmuch as it strengthens instead of weakening our propensity to avoid pain, begets an aversion to learning, induces hypocrisy and a slavish temper (which, I would add, invariably means a tyrannical one), and breaks the mind. 'Who is there,' asks Locke, 'that would not be disgusted with any innocent recreation, in itself indifferent to him, if he should with blows or ill-language be haled to it when he had no mind, or be constantly so treated for some circumstances in his application to it? This is natural to be so. Offensive circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are joined with ; and the very sight of a cup, wherein any one uses to take nauseous physic, turns his stomach, so that nothing will relish well out of it, though the cup be never so clean and well shaped, and of the richest materials.' (§ 49.) So strongly did the Jesuit teachers feel the force of this objection to corporal punishment that they handed over whipping to a special 'corrector' who did not belong to the order. Comenius held that the only offences for which children should be punished were offences against morals. If they did not learn, it was not their fault, but their teacher's. Locke would confine corporal punishment to cases of obstinacy and rebellion, but he does not think any correction useful to a child when 'the shame of suffering for having done amiss does not work more upon him than the pain.' His remarks on the effect a system of terrorism exerts in paralysing the mind are as valuable as they are beautifully expressed. 'It is impossible children should learn anything whilst their thoughts are possessed or disturbed with any passion, especially fear, which makes the strongest impression on their yet tender and weak spirits. Keep the mind in an easy and calm temper when you will have it receive your instructions, or any increase of knowledge. *It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind as on a shaking paper.*' (§ 167.) Many a child is credited with

stupidity or dogged sullenness, who is only confused and distracted by the 'plagosus Orbilius' standing over him, and rendering, by his angry tones and threats, mental effort simply impossible.

Locke recognises the necessity of rewards and punishments, but is opposed to rewards that take the form of material pleasures. He would have children treated as rational creatures, and influenced not through their bodies, but through their minds. 'Esteem and disgrace,' he says, 'are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into children a love of credit, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principle, which will constantly work and incline them to the right.' (§ 56.) He notices how sensible children are of praise, and how quickly they detect any withholding or diminution of it. But to make the sense of esteem or disgrace sink the deeper, other agreeable or disagreeable things should constantly accompany these different states; not as particular rewards or punishments arbitrarily attached to these states, but as necessarily belonging to and attending one who by his carriage has brought himself into a state of disgrace or commendation. Rousseau would trust to automatic punishments. He says: 'Never oppose to [a child's] indiscreet desires other than physical obstacles or punishments which grow out of the actions themselves—punishments which he will recall to mind when occasion requires.' Mr. Herbert Spencer has developed this principle still further, and indicated various modes of applying it. He has shown how Nature punishes the violation of her laws by penalties that are not artificial and arbitrary inflictions of pain, but 'the unavoidable consequences of the deeds which they follow,' *'the inevitable reactions entailed by the child's actions'*; he has shown that these penalties are exactly proportionate to the transgressions committed, and that they are constant, direct, and unhesitating. He would have the violations of moral law to be punished, as far as possible, in the same way. The parent's duty is to warn against the consequences of offence, and so to shape them, when intervention is requisite, as to make the connexion between cause and effect obvious. The advantages of this course, he says, are that it accustoms chil-

dren to connect actions with their inevitable consequences, and so form definite conceptions of right and wrong based upon their essential differences ; it appeals to the sense of justice, for 'whoso suffers nothing more than the evil which in the order of nature results from his own misbehaviour, is much less likely to think himself wrongly treated than if he suffers an artificially inflicted evil ;' it avoids the needless exasperation of temper on the side both of parents and children, the impersonal agency of Nature being substituted for the personal agency of parents ; and it tends to a more friendly and therefore a more influential relation between parent and child. In dealing with grave moral offences (which, he points out, are far less likely to occur under the *régime* recommended than under the ordinary *régime*) Mr. Spencer would attach to the direct natural consequences of the offence indications of parental displeasure. Those indications would, of course, be powerful in proportion to the warmth of the attachment previously existing between the parent and the child. He would avoid the multiplication of laws as far as possible, but he would have the violation of law followed by penalties as inevitable as those inflicted by inanimate Nature.

Locke also is opposed to the multiplication of rules, and would trust rather to the formation of habits, 'which being once established, operate of themselves easily and naturally without the assistance of the memory.' As might be expected, he recognises the educative influence, for good or bad, which is exerted on children by those with whom they associate, and warns parents against the bad examples which are often set children by servants. The more young children are confined to the nursery, the more important it is that they should be placed under the charge of intelligent and well-educated nurses or nursery governesses. As they grow up equal care will be needed in controlling the acquaintance they make. A child is always learning, and too frequently the lessons learned from servants and companions are directly opposed to those taught by parents and teachers. Unfortunately the example set by parents themselves is often of a most undesirable character. 'If you wish him for what he sees you practise yourself, he will think that severity to proceed from kindness in you,

careful to amend a fault in him ; but he will be apt to interpret it, the peevishness and arbitrary imperiousness of a father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his son the liberty and pleasures he takes himself. Or if you assume to yourself the liberty you have taken, as a privilege belonging to riper years to which a child must not aspire, you do but add new force to your example, and recommend the action more powerfully to him. For you must always remember that *children affect to be men earlier than is thought ; and they love breeches, not for their cut or ease, but because the having them is a mark or step towards manhood.* It is this 'young-manishness' that explains many precocious vices, such as smoking and drinking, which are at first eminently distasteful to the young. Lads will endure tortures in order to be thought older than they really are.

Although Locke recommends parents to inspire young children with a certain amount of awe and reverence, he is in favour of treating them as they grow up with an ever-increasing familiarity. This, as I have pointed out, was the course pursued by his own father. 'Many fathers,' he says, 'though they proportion to them very liberal allowances, according to their age and condition, yet they keep the knowledge of their estates and concerns from them with as much reservedness as if they were guarding a secret of state from a spy or an enemy. . . . Nothing cements and establishes friendship and good will so much as confident communication of concerns and affairs.' Nor is this the only advantage. Confidence begets confidence ; and how necessary it is that children should be open and confidential towards parents it is needless to remark. Many an evil consequence might be averted in families, if the children felt encouraged by parental sympathy to seek parental counsel. For similar reasons teachers should not keep their pupils at too great a distance.

Locke's precepts on the practical work of teaching, although characterised by his usual common sense, are not so valuable to the modern teacher as his remarks on the principles of education ; but here also he makes many useful suggestions. To start with, he sees clearly the absolute necessity of securing a child's attention in teaching. Without that the amplest knowledge and the most lucid

explanation on the part of the teacher will be in vain. 'Children's minds are narrow and weak, and usually susceptible but of one thought at once. Whatever is in a child's head fills it for the time, especially if set on with any passion. It should, therefore, be the skill and art of the teacher to clear their heads of all other thoughts, while they are learning of anything, the better to make room for what he would instil into them, that it may be received with attention and application, without which it leaves no impression. The natural temper of children disposes their minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that presents they are presently eager to have a taste of, and are as soon satisfied with it. They quickly grow weary of the same thing, and so have almost their whole delight in change and variety. It is a contradiction to the natural state of childhood for them to fix their fleeting thoughts' (§ 167.) This being the case, it is obviously the teacher's duty to take advantage of the child's love of novelty, and convert it from being a source of distraction into a means of securing attention. He must minister to the instinct of curiosity by bringing before it subjects of interest; he must multiply his illustrations and vary his methods; he must, in short, make his teaching more attractive than the matters which tend to divert the mind from learning. In the case of very young children the attention is only to a slight extent under the control of the will, and the teacher's efforts to counteract their volatility must be proportionately greater. As children get to see the utility of knowledge, and appreciate its remoter advantages, the habits induced by automatic attention will become more and more volitional. In the art of arousing and sustaining attention our trained teachers have certainly made great progress, and I venture to think that teachers in our highest schools might gain many valuable practical hints from observing a teacher in one of our elementary schools give a lesson to sixty or seventy children.

One of Locke's best chapters is that on 'Curiosity.' 'Curiosity in children,' he says, 'is but an appetite after knowledge; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good sign, but as *the great instrument nature has provided to remove that ignorance they were born with;* which, without this busy inquisitiveness, will make them dull

and useless creatures.' (§ 118.) To encourage it he advises (1) not to check or discountenance any inquiries a child shall make, nor suffer him to be laughed at, but to answer all his questions and explain the matter he desires to know ; (2) to commend in his hearing those who are in possession of superior knowledge ; (3) to take great care that he never receives deceitful and eluding answers ; (4) to bring strange and new things in his way on purpose to enlarge his inquiry.

To render learning attractive, Locke would make it as easy as simplification and method can make it, and as amusing as the serious business of education will allow. He tells, with approval, a story of a child who was taught his letters and 'played into spelling' through amusing himself with dice, on the sides of which were pasted the letters of the alphabet. He would have children learn reading out of interesting books, 'wherein the entertainment that he finds might draw him on, and reward his pains in reading.' Such books should be illustrated. He is in no hurry to use reading as a vehicle for the communication of knowledge, and would prefer for beginners such books as 'Æsop's Fables' and 'Reynard the Fox.' Languages he would teach conversationally, deferring the systematic study of the grammar until the language was fairly mastered. 'If grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the language already ; how else can he be taught it? . . . I know not why any one should waste his time, and beat his head about the Latin grammar, who does not intend to be a critic, or make speeches and write despatches in it. When any one finds in himself a necessity or disposition to study any foreign language to the bottom, and to be nicely exact in the knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a grammatical survey of it. If his use of it be only to understand some books writ in it, without a critical knowledge of the tongue itself, reading alone, as I have said, will attain this end, without charging the mind with the multiplied rules and intricacies of grammar.' (§ 168.)

It is sometimes urged that this plan of making everything easy to children misses the main end of education, which is to prepare them for encountering the difficulties of after-life. But in answer to this it may be fairly urged that a gradation

of difficulties is not only quite compatible with intellectual discipline, but is absolutely indispensable to its ultimate success. A man has often to bear great physical strains, but we do not think it necessary to make a child carry heavy burdens or take a daily thirty-mile walk. Mental progress is made by attacking difficulties in the order of their simplicity, and only one at a time. A child is encouraged by an easy victory to attempt a more difficult one, and thereby tastes something of the sweets of success from the beginning. What we specially need at the outset of education is to give children a taste for learning, and it is obvious that this can only be done by minimising its difficulties and making it a source of positive pleasure. Some teachers seem to think that children have a natural distaste for knowledge. The universal curiosity of children shows that such is not the case. What they have a distaste for is knowledge that satisfies no intellectual appetite, knowledge which is beyond their power of assimilation, knowledge in which they can see no possible utility. It is as natural for children to like food for their minds as it is to like food for their bodies. What we have to take care of is that the food is suitable to their power of digestion, and that it is not forced upon them when they have no appetite for it. One consequence of entertaining the erroneous view to which I have referred is the belief that a certain amount of drudgery is inevitable at the outset of education. Surely there is no stage in education where drudgery is more intolerable and more likely to produce mischievous results. The entrance to every study should be made as attractive as possible ; and until the attractiveness of the subject itself has had time to assert itself, the teacher is justified in importing into his method of teaching other sources of attraction, provided, of course, he does not abuse these adventitious sources of interest, nor raise unfounded expectations.

Another mischievous consequence of regarding knowledge as naturally distasteful to children is the abandonment of all endeavours to get them to understand what they learn, and the insisting upon their learning by rote what it is considered desirable for them to remember. It is urged that if you cannot make a child understand and enjoy, you can, at least, make him remember, and that, when you have a good



'form of sound words' to work upon, you can build what you like upon it. Unfortunately the 'form of sound words' unintelligently learned is soon forgotten, or, if remembered, covers no ideas at all, or unsound ideas, disgusts the child with learning when it is most desirable to secure the momentum of natural inclination, and proves utterly rotten the instant we begin the superstructure that is to be raised upon it.

At the same time it is important that teachers should not rush to the opposite extreme, and leave their pupils nothing to do but passively receive the knowledge poured into them. Mental thews and sinews are not to be developed in this way. The teacher may communicate the form of knowledge without much co-operation on the part of his pupils, but he cannot make the knowledge really their own without some active effort on their side. Still less can he communicate the mental power which he has himself acquired by independent exertion. Happily for the teacher, children, if properly appealed to, find greater delight in active co-operation with him than in a state of passive recipiency. It is a double mistake, therefore, to try to make learning too easy. It robs it of half its charm and more than half its value. Locke admits that in some subjects the teacher may even propound difficulties to stimulate his pupils to independent effort; 'but yet,' he adds, 'I guess this is not to be done to children whilst very young, nor at their entrance upon any sort of knowledge. There everything of itself is difficult, and the great use and skill of a teacher is to make all as easy as he can.'

Two innovations in practical education which are commonly associated with Locke's name are the interlinear mode of teaching languages and the method of teaching writing by tracing over copies printed in light-coloured ink. To the first of these he is, as I have shown in the notes, not entitled, and, even if he were, it would not greatly add to his reputation. The second is almost universally adopted by teachers.

Mr. Quick thus sums up Locke's views on education. His 'aim was to give a boy a robust mind in a robust body. His body was to endure hardness, his reason was to teach him self-denial. But this result was to be brought about by

leading, not driving him. He was to be trained not for the university, but for the world. Good principles, good manners, and discretion were to be cared for first of all, intellectual activity next, and actual knowledge last of all. His spirits were to be kept up by kind treatment, and learning was never to be made a drudgery. With regard to the subjects of instruction, those branches of knowledge which concern things were to take precedence of those which consist of abstract ideas. The prevalent drill in the grammar of the classical languages was to be abandoned. The mother tongue was to be carefully studied, and other languages acquired either by conversation or by the use of translations. In everything the part the pupil was to play in life was steadily to be kept in view; and the ideal which Locke proposed was not the finished scholar, but the finished gentleman.<sup>1</sup>

The deficiencies in Locke's scheme of education were the natural consequences of a reaction from the system current in his day, and of his own idiosyncrasies. He underrates the importance of classical culture, and almost wholly loses sight of the refining influences of art. 'Education in England,' said Dr. Johnson, 'has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. Milton's plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried. Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect; it gives too much to one side and too little to the other; *it gives too little to literature.*' In this judgment most of Locke's readers will concur. He had a livelier sense of the value of what he calls 'real knowledge' than of the beauty of literary form, and entirely overlooks the necessity for cultivating the æsthetic faculty. In his discussion of the value of the dead languages he almost wholly ignores the value of the great classics of Greece and Rome as models of literary excellence, a value which no translation can diminish. No plaster cast could ever take the place of the Venus de' Medici, or the Apollo Belvedere. Whether everybody should go to Rome to see the one, or to Florence to see the other, is another question. Familiarity with a good translation may be of more value than an imperfect knowledge of the original, and there may be a large

<sup>1</sup> *Educational Reformers*, p. 95.

number of boys in a public school for whom the former is more desirable than the latter. It would be a great pity, however, to sacrifice classical scholarship because a few boys are too dull or idle to profit by it, or because a great many boys need scholarship of a different character. 'The best ancient writers both in Greek and Latin furnish so much of wise reflection, of noble sentiment, of all that is beautiful and salutary, that no one who has had the happiness to know and feel what they are will desire to see their study excluded or stinted in its just extent, wherever the education of those who are to be the first and best of the country is carried forward. And though by far the greater portion of mankind must, by the very force of terms, remain in the ranks of intellectual mediocrity, it is an ominous sign of any times when no thought is taken for those who may rise beyond it.'<sup>1</sup>

The text followed in the edition of the 'Thoughts' now printed is that of 1836, which has been carefully collated with the octavo editions of 1693 and 1699, and the folio edition of 1722. The edition of 1699 contains a great deal of matter not found in the first edition, and shows that Locke kept the subject of education before him to the end of his life. 'In Locke's lifetime, and with his co-operation, there appeared a French translation of the "Thoughts concerning Education," by Coste, copiously annotated, with quotations from Montaigne and the ancients. There further appeared, in 1787, a German translation in Leipzig, by Ouvrier, with additions by the translator; and this was followed in the same year by a second by Rudolphi, published by Wolfenbüttel. But neither of these is quite complete. The latter, forming the ninth part of Campe's "General Revision of Scholastic Work by an Association of Practical Teachers," is also enriched by addenda by these teachers.' Dr. Schuster, from the preface of whose translation of Locke the foregoing quotation is made, has incorporated in his notes the more important remarks of previous commentators. Such of his notes as I have borrowed are marked *S.* For their translation I am indebted to the valuable help of Mr. A. H. Keane. A few notes, retained from the English edition of 1836, edited by J. A. St. John, are marked *St. J.*

<sup>1</sup> Hallam's *Lit. Hist.* iv. 187.

For the elaborate analytic table of contents I am indebted to Dr. Schuster's edition.

In writing and selecting the notes, I have had primarily in view the needs of students in training colleges, and of teachers in elementary schools. This will explain the insertion of some notes which to classical scholars would seem unnecessary. I trust, however, that the bulk of the notes will not be without service to teachers in a higher grade of schools, and to students preparing for the examination in the Theory, History, and Practice of Education, which will be held by the University of Cambridge.

I have thought it expedient to preserve Locke's spelling wherever it retains any philological interest.

[illegible]

TO  
EDWARD CLARKE, ESQ.,  
OF CHIPLEY.

SIR,—These thoughts concerning education, which now come abroad into the world, do of right belong to you; being written several years since for your sake, and are no other than what you have already by you in my letters. I have so little varied any thing, but only the order of what was sent you at different times, and on several occasions, that the reader will easily find, in the familiarity and fashion of the style, that they were rather the private conversation of two friends, than a discourse designed for public view.

The importunity of friends is the common apology for publications men are afraid to own themselves forward to. But you know I can truly say, that if some, who having heard of these papers of mine, had not pressed to see them, and afterwards to have them printed, they had lain dormant still in that privacy they were designed for. But those whose judgment I defer much to, telling me that they were persuaded that this rough draught of mine might be of some use, if made more public, touched upon what will always be very prevalent<sup>1</sup> with me: for I think it every man's indispensable duty, to do all the service he can to his country; and I see not what difference he puts between himself and his cattle, who lives without that thought. This subject is of so great concernment, and a right way of education is of so general advantage, that did I find my abilities answer my wishes, I should not have needed exhortations or im-

<sup>1</sup> Upon what will always be very prevalent with me] i.e. upon what will always have great weight with me.

portunities from others. However, the meanness of these papers, and my just distrust of them, shall not keep me, by the shame of doing so little, from contributing my mite, when there is no more required of me, than my throwing it into the public receptacle. And if there be any more of their size and notions, who liked them so well, that they thought them worth printing, I may flatter myself they will not be lost labour to every body.

I myself have been consulted of late by so many, who profess themselves at a loss how to breed their children, and the early corruption of youth is now become so general a complaint, that he cannot be thought wholly impertinent, who brings the consideration of this matter on the stage, and offers something, if it be but to excite others, or afford matter of correction : for errors in education should be less indulged than any. These, like faults in the first concoction, that are never mended in the second or third, carry their afterwards incorrigible taint with them, through all the parts and stations of life.

I am so far from being conceited of any thing I have here offered, that I should not be sorry, even for your sake, if some one abler and fitter for such a task would, in a just treatise of education, suited to our English gentry, rectify the mistakes I have made in this ; it being much more desirable to me, that young gentlemen should be put into (that which every one ought to be solicitous about) the best way of being formed and instructed, than that my opinion should be received concerning it. You will, however, in the mean time bear me witness, that the method here proposed has had no ordinary effects upon a gentleman's son it was not designed for. I will not say the good temper of the child did not very much contribute to it ; but this I think you and the parents are satisfied of, that a contrary usage, according to the ordinary disciplining of children, would not have mended that temper, nor have brought him to be in love with his book, to take a pleasure in learning, and to desire, as he does, to be taught more, than those about him think fit always to teach him.

But my business is not to recommend this treatise to you, whose opinion of it I know already, nor it to the world, either by your opinion or patronage. The well educating of

their children is so much the duty and concern of parents, and the welfare and prosperity of the nation ~~so much~~ depends on it, that I would have every one lay it seriously to heart ; and after having well examined and distinguished what fancy, custom, or reason advises in the case, set his helping hand to promote everywhere that way of training up youth, with regard to their several conditions, which is the easiest, shortest, and likeliest to produce virtuous, useful, and able men in their distinct callings ; though that most to be taken care of is, the gentleman's calling. For if those of that rank are by their education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into order.

I know not whether I have done more than shown my good wishes towards it in this short discourse ; such as it is, the world now has it, and if there be any thing in it worth their acceptance, they owe their thanks to you for it. My affection to you gave the first rise to it, and I am pleased, that I can leave to posterity this mark of the friendship which has been between us : for I know no greater pleasure in this life, nor a better remembrance to be left behind one, than a long continued friendship with an honest, useful, and worthy man, and lover of his country.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble,

And most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

March 7, 1693.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The folio of 1714 wrongly gives 1690 as the date, and is followed by subsequent editions.



The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young country. It has only been about 150 years since it was founded. This means that it has not had time to develop a long and rich history. The second is the fact that the United States is a large country. It covers a vast area of land, and this means that it has a wide variety of landscapes and climates. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse country. It is home to people from many different backgrounds and cultures. These three factors have all contributed to the unique character of the United States.

The fourth factor is the fact that the United States is a country of immigrants. Many of the people who live in the United States today are the descendants of immigrants from other countries. This has led to a rich and diverse cultural heritage. The fifth factor is the fact that the United States is a country of opportunity. It is a place where people can come and start a new life. This has led to a great deal of innovation and progress. The sixth factor is the fact that the United States is a country of freedom. It is a place where people can live and work as they see fit. This has led to a great deal of creativity and achievement.

The seventh factor is the fact that the United States is a country of hope. It is a place where people can believe in a better future. This has led to a great deal of optimism and progress. The eighth factor is the fact that the United States is a country of love. It is a place where people can live and work in harmony. This has led to a great deal of peace and stability. The ninth factor is the fact that the United States is a country of justice. It is a place where people can live and work in fairness. This has led to a great deal of respect and dignity. The tenth factor is the fact that the United States is a country of peace. It is a place where people can live and work in safety. This has led to a great deal of happiness and well-being.

# THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

## EDUCATION.

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I. A SOUND MIND in a sound body,<sup>1</sup> is a short, but full description of a happy state in this world. He that has these two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. Men's happiness or misery is most part of their own making. He whose mind directs not wisely, will never take the right way, and he whose body is crazy<sup>2</sup> and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confess, there are some men's constitutions of body and mind so vigorous and well framed by nature, that they need not much assistance from others, but by the strength of their natural genius, they are from their cradles carried towards what is excellent; and by the

<sup>1</sup> A sound mind in a sound body] Locke had in mind Juvenal's famous line: 'Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano' (You must pray that you may have a sound mind in a sound body). *Satire* x. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Crazy] i.e. frail. Fr. *écraser*, to crush. The O.E. 'to craze' means to crack. 'Earthenware at the present day is said to be *crazed* when the glaze is disfigured with a network of small cracks.' (Wedgwood.) The word is now rarely used of the body, though we still apply it to a leaky vessel.

privilege of their happy constitutions, are able to do wonders. But examples of this kind are but few ; and I think I may say, that of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten<sup>1</sup> are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little or almost insensible impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences : and there it is, as in the fountains of some rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels, that make them take quite contrary courses ; and by this little direction given them at first in the source, they receive different tendencies, and arrive at last at very remote and distant places.<sup>2</sup>

2. I imagine the minds of children as easily turned this or that way, as water itself ; and though this be the principal part, and our main care should be about the inside, yet the clay cottage<sup>3</sup> is not to be

<sup>1</sup> *Nine parts of ten, &c.*] See Hallam's remarks (quoted p. 18) on this passage. By 'education' Locke here means not merely that education which is carried on in school, but all those external influences which help to make man what he is. 'Education includes,' says John Stuart Mill, 'not only whatever we do for ourselves, and whatever is done for us by others, for the express purpose of bringing us somewhat nearer to the perfection of our nature ; it does more : in its largest acceptation it comprehends even the indirect effects produced on character and on the human faculties by things of which the direct purposes are quite different ; by laws, by forms of government, by the industrial arts, by modes of social life ; nay, even by physical facts not dependent on human will ; by climate, soil, and local position. Whatever helps to shape the human being, to make the individual what he is, or hinder him from being what he is not, is part of his education.' (*Inaugural Address at St. Andrews.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Remote and distant places*] 'Every fresh educator effects less than his predecessor ; until at last, taking our whole life as an educational institution, a circumnavigator of the globe is less influenced by all the nations he has seen than by his nurse.'—Jean-Paul Richter, Preface to *Levana*.

<sup>3</sup> *The clay cottage*] See Introduction, p. 35. 'Campe urges against Locke that the body is not merely the dwelling but also the instrument of the soul,' S.

neglected. I shall therefore begin with the case, and consider first the health of the body, as that which perhaps you may rather expect from that study<sup>1</sup> I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied myself to; and that also which will be soonest dispatched, as lying, if I guess not amiss, in a very little compass.

## [SECTION I. §§ 3-30.]

## [ON HEALTH.]

3. How necessary health is to our business and happiness; and how requisite a strong constitution, able to endure hardships and fatigue, is to one that will make any figure in the world, is too obvious to need any proof.

4. The consideration I shall here have of health, shall be, not what a physician ought to do with a sick or crazy child; but what the parents, without the help of physic, should do for the preservation and improvement of a healthy, or at least not sickly constitution in their children. And this perhaps might be all dispatched in this one short rule, viz. That gentlemen should use their children, as the honest farmers and substantial yeomen do theirs. But because the mothers possibly may think this a little too hard, and the fathers too short, I shall explain myself more particularly; only laying down this as a general and certain observation for the women to consider, viz. that most children's constitutions are either spoiled, or at least harmed, by cockering<sup>2</sup> and tenderness.

<sup>1</sup> **That study**] viz. medicine. See Life, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> **Cookering**] i.e. pampering. Fr. *coqueline*, to dandle, pamper. Cockney originally meant a delicately nurtured child. Palsgrave says: 'To coker, cherysse to much, *mignotter*. This boy can never thrive; he is cokered so moche. To coker, bring up with daynty meates, *affriander, affrioller*. Coker hym up thus in his youth, and you shall

## [ON WARMTH.]

5. The first thing to be taken care of, is, that children be not too warmly clad or covered, winter or summer. The face when we are born, is no less tender than any other part of the body. It is use alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the cold. And therefore the Scythian philosopher gave a very significant answer to the Athenian, who wondered how he could go naked in frost and snow. 'How,' said the Scythian, 'can you endure your face exposed to the sharp winter air?' 'My face is used to it,' said the Athenian. 'Think me all face,' replied the Scythian.<sup>1</sup> Our bodies will endure any thing that from the beginning they are accustomed to.

An eminent instance of this, though in the contrary excess of heat, being to our present purpose, to show what use can do, I shall set down in the author's words, as I meet with it in a late ingenious voyage.<sup>2</sup> 'The heats,' says he, 'are more violent in Malta, than in any part of Europe: they exceed those of Rome

have a fayre caulfe of hym shortly.' Quoted by Way in *Promptorium Parvulorum*. Cf. Ecclus. xxx. 9: 'Cocker thy child, and he shall make thee afraid.' It is hardly necessary to remark that clothing involves much more than the mere question of endurance. If the heat of the body is not prevented by clothing from radiating, it must be maintained by heat-giving food, which, in consequence, will not be available for other purposes. See p. 36.

<sup>1</sup> 'This story is told by Ælian with some variation of circumstances. "A Scythian king, observing one of his subjects walking about naked during a heavy fall of snow, inquired of him whether he were not cold. "Is your forehead cold?" answered the man. The king replied that it was not. "Then think me all forehead!" said the Scythian.' (*Var. Hist.* vii. 6.) *St. J.*

Costé says that the Scythian philosopher referred to was Anacharsis, but does not give his authority.

<sup>2</sup> *Ingenious voyage*] i.e. a narrative marked by intelligent observation and reflection. The reference is to the *Nouveau Voyage du Levant*, 1780. The fractional numbers appended by Locke to his quotations, are characteristic. The numerator gives the page where the passage occurs, the denominator the number of pages the work contains.

itself, and are perfectly stifling ; and so much the more, because there are seldom any cooling breezes here. This makes the common people as black as gipsies : but yet the peasants defy the sun ; they work on in the hottest part of the day, without intermission, or sheltering themselves from his scorching rays. This has convinced me, that nature can bring itself to many things which seem impossible, provided we accustom ourselves from our infancy. The Malteses do so, who harden the bodies of their children, and reconcile them to the heat, by making them go stark naked, without shirt, drawers, or anything on their head, from their cradles, till they are ten years old.'

Give me leave therefore to advise you, not to fence too carefully against the cold of this our climate. There are those in England,<sup>1</sup> who wear the same clothes winter and summer, and that without any inconvenience, or more sense of cold than others find. But if the mother will needs have an allowance for frost and snow, for fear of harm, and the father for fear of censure, be sure let not his winter-clothing be too warm : and amongst other things, remember, that when nature has so well covered his head with hair, and strengthened it with a year or two's age, that he can run about by day without a cap, it is best that by night a child should also lie without one ; there being nothing that more exposes to head-aches, colds, catarrhs, coughs, and several other diseases, than keeping the head warm.

6. I have said he here, because ~~the principal aim~~ of my discourse is, how a young gentleman should be brought up from his infancy, which, in all things, will not so perfectly suit the education of daughters ;

<sup>1</sup> **Those in England]** Coste tells us that Newton, some years before his death, assured him that he wore the same clothes summer and winter. Nature might have taught the philosopher better if he had paid any attention to the coverings of animals.

though where the difference of sex requires different treatment, it will be no hard matter to distinguish.

7. I would also advise his feet to be washed every day in cold water, and to have his shoes so thin, that they might leak and let in water, whenever he comes near it. Here, I fear, I shall have the mistress and maids too against me. One will think it too filthy, and the other perhaps too much pains, to make clean his stockings. But yet truth will have it, that his health is much more worth, than all such considerations, and ten times as much more. And he that considers how mischievous and mortal a thing taking wet in the feet is, to those who have been bred nicely,<sup>1</sup> will wish he had, with the poor people's children, gone barefoot, who, by that means, come to be so reconciled by custom to wet in their feet, that they take no more cold or harm by it, than if they were wet in their hands. And what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the hands and the feet in others, but only custom? I doubt not, but if a man from his cradle had been always used to go barefoot, whilst his hands were constantly wrapt up in warm mittins, and covered with hand-shoes,<sup>2</sup> as the Dutch call gloves; I doubt not, I say, but such a custom would make taking wet in his hands as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their feet is to a great many others. The way to prevent this, is, to have his shoes made so as to leak water, and his feet washed constantly every day in cold water.<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> *Nicely*] i.e. delicately. Lat. *nescius*, meaning (1) ignorant; (2) foolish; (3) foolishly fastidious.

<sup>2</sup> *Hand-shoes*] The Dutch for 'glove' is *handschoen*. Cf. German *Handschuh*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cold water*] There can be no objection to the daily washing of the feet in cold water, but no medical man would now recommend leaky shoes. A safer maxim is the common one, 'Keep the head cool and the feet warm.' We do not appear to suffer any harm from wet feet so long as we are engaged in active physical exercise, but, once exercise is over, dry shoes and stockings should be put on.

is recommendable for its cleanliness ; but that which I aim at in it, is health ; and therefore I limit it not precisely to any time of the day. I have known it used every night with very good success, and that all the winter, without the omitting it so much as one night in extreme cold weather ; when thick ice covered the water, the child bathed his legs and feet in it, though he was of an age not big enough to rub and wipe them himself ; and when he began this custom was puling and very tender. But the great end being to harden those parts, by a frequent and familiar use of cold water, and thereby to prevent the mischiefs that usually attend accidental taking wet in the feet in those who are bred otherwise, I think it may be left to the prudence and convenience of the parents, to choose either night or morning : the time I deem indifferent, so the thing be effectually done. The health and hardiness procured by it, would be a good purchase at a much dearer rate. To which, if I add, the preventing of corns, that to some men would be a very valuable consideration. But begin first in the spring with luke-warm, and so colder and colder every time, till in a few days you come to perfectly cold water, and then continue it so winter and summer. For it is to be observed in this, as in all other alterations from our ordinary way of living, the changes must be made by gentle and insensible degrees ; and so we may bring our bodies to any thing, without pain and without danger.

How fond mothers are like to receive this doctrine, is not hard to foresee. What can it be less, than to murder their tender babes, to use them thus ? What ! put their feet in cold water in frost and snow, when all one can do is little enough to keep them warm ? A little to remove their fears by examples, without which the plainest reason is seldom hearkened to :



Seneca<sup>1</sup> tells us of himself, that he used to bathe himself in cold spring-water in the midst of winter. This, if he had not thought it not only tolerable, but healthy too, he would scarce have done, in an exuberant fortune, that could well have borne the expense of a warm bath, and in an age (for he was then old) that would have excused greater indulgence. If we think his stoical principles led him to this severity, let it be so, that this sect reconciled cold water to his sufferance.<sup>2</sup> What made it agreeable to his health? For that was not impaired by this hard usage. But what shall we say to Horace,<sup>3</sup> who warmed not himself with the reputation of any sect, and least of all affected stoical austerities? yet he assures us, he was wont in the winter season to bathe himself in cold water. But, perhaps, Italy will be thought much warmer than England, and the chillness of their waters not to come near ours in winter. If the rivers of Italy are warmer, those of Germany and Poland are much colder, than any in this our country; and yet in these, the Jews, both men and women, bathe all over, at all seasons of the year, without any prejudice to their health. And every one is not apt

<sup>1</sup> Seneca] *Epist.* liii. : 'Mindful of my old skill, I plunged into the sea with my woollen nether-garments on, as became one accustomed to cold-water baths.' *Epist.* lxxxiii. : 'Famous as I was for taking the coldwater, I jumped into the Euripus on the Kalends of January.' Locke's advice may be very good, but nobody but a bachelor would seek to convince mothers on such a point by appealing to Seneca.

<sup>2</sup> Sufferance] i.e. endurance. Cf. : 'For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe' (*Merchant of Venice*).

<sup>3</sup> Horace] *Epist.* I. xv. 4 :

'Nam mihi Baias

Musa supervacuas Antonius; et tamen illis

Me facit invisum, gelidâ quum perluor undâ

Per medium frigus.'

[For Antonius Musa thinks that Baiae is of no service to me, and yet incenses the inhabitants against me when I wash myself in ice-cold water in mid-winter.] Horace was the embodiment of Epicureanism, and therefore as far removed as a man could be from the views of the Stoics.

to believe it is a miracle, or any peculiar virtue of St. Winifred's Well,<sup>1</sup> that makes the cold waters of that famous spring do no harm to the tender bodies that bathe in it. Every one is now full of the miracles done by cold baths on decayed and weak constitutions, for the recovery of health and strength; and therefore they cannot be impracticable or intolerable for the improving and hardening the bodies of those who are in better circumstances.

If these examples of grown men be not thought yet to reach the case of children, but that they may be judged still to be too tender, and unable to bear such usage, let them examine what the Germans of old,<sup>2</sup> and the Irish now, do to them, and they will find, that infants too, as tender as they are thought, may, without any danger, endure bathing, not only of their feet, but of their whole bodies, in cold water. And there are, at this day, ladies in the highlands of Scotland<sup>3</sup> who use this discipline to their children in

<sup>1</sup> **St. Winifred's Well]** Situated at Holywell (Flintshire). It formerly had a great reputation for the cure of diseases, and was resorted to by vast numbers of pilgrims. 'Even as late as the time of Pennant the Lancashire pilgrims were to be seen in deep devotion up to their chins for hours, sending up prayers and making a prescribed number of evolutions.' (*Penny Cycl.*)

<sup>2</sup> **The Germans of old]** Tacitus says expressly of the Germans that 'as soon as they arise from sleep, which they generally protract till late in the day, they bathe, usually in *warm* water, as cold weather chiefly prevails there.' (*Germania*, 22.)

<sup>3</sup> 'New-born infants, at Sparta, were put to this proof; but it was in order that the more weakly—who often, however, in after life, prove the most valuable members of the state—might be killed by it. A similar custom formerly prevailed among many barbarous nations of the north, among whom we find the Scotch enumerated by Virey. "Un grand nombre de nations du Nord," he observes, "plongeaient leurs enfants naissants dans l'eau froide, ou même les étendaient jadis sur la neige: c'était la coutume des Ecossais, des Irlandais, des anciens Helvétiens et Germains, des premiers habitants de l'Italie, dont un poète a dit :

'Durum e stirpe genus : natos ad flumina primum  
Deferimus, sævoque gelu duramus et undis.'

Les Morlaques, les Islandais, les Sibériens, et plusieurs autres, prati-

the midst of winter, and find that cold water does them no harm, even when there is ice in it.

[SWIMMING.]

8. I shall not need here to mention swimming, when he is of an age able to learn, and has any one to teach him. It is that saves many a man's life; and the Romans<sup>1</sup> thought it so necessary that they ranked it with letters; and it was the common phrase to mark one ill-educated, and good for nothing, that he had neither learned to read nor to swim: *Nec literas didicit nec natare.*<sup>2</sup> But, besides the gaining a skill which may serve him at need, the advantages to health, by often bathing in cold water during the heat of summer, are so many, that I think nothing need be said to encourage it; provided this one caution be used, That he never go into the water

quent encore cet usage aujourd'hui, ce qui habitue de bonne heure l'homme à la froidure, et lui donne une santé plus robuste; *néanmoins il faut redouter l'endurcissement du tissu cellulaire, qui rend violette la peau de ces enfants, et les fait périr.*" (*Hist. Nat. du Genre Humain*, tom. i. pp. 89, 90.)' *St. J.*

<sup>1</sup> 'In this, as in most other things, the Romans were only the judicious imitators of the Greeks. By Solon's laws every Athenian was required to be able both to read and to swim (*Petit. Legg. Att.* p. 239); and to a people whose greatness, nay, almost whose existence, depended on their superior skill in naval affairs, swimming was almost as useful as the knowledge of letters. Franklin, in his letter to Oliver Neele, has made on this subject several very good remarks; after giving his friend directions how the art is to be acquired, &c., he adds: "Learn fairly to swim; as I wish all men were taught to do in their youth; they would, on many occurrences, be the safer for having that skill, and on many more the happier, as freer from painful apprehensions of danger, to say nothing of the enjoyment in so delightful and wholesome an exercise. Soldiers particularly should, methinks, all be taught to swim; it might be of frequent use either in surprising an enemy or saving themselves. And if I had now boys to educate, I should prefer those schools (other things being equal) where an opportunity was afforded for acquiring so advantageous an art, which once learned is never forgotten." ' *St. J.*

<sup>2</sup> *Nec literas didicit nec natare*] So the Greeks said of an ignorant man: *Μῆτε νεῖν, μῆτε γράμματα ἐπιστάται.* [He can neither swim nor read.]

when exercise has at all warmed him, or left any emotion<sup>1</sup> in his blood or pulse.

[AIR.]

9. Another thing that is of great advantage to every one's health, but especially children's, is to be much in the open air, and as little as may be by the fire, even in winter. By this he will accustom himself also to heat and cold, shine and rain ; all which, if a man's body will not endure, it will serve him to very little purpose in this world ; and when he is grown up, it is too late to begin to use him to it. It must be got early, and by degrees. Thus the body may be brought to bear almost any thing. If I should advise him to play in the wind and the sun without a hat, I doubt whether it could be borne. There would a thousand objections be made against it, which at last would amount to no more, in truth, than being sun-burnt. And if my young master be to be kept always in the shade, and never exposed to the sun and wind for fear of his complexion, it may be a good way to make him a beau,<sup>2</sup> but not a man of business. And although greater regard be to be had to beauty in the daughters ; yet I will take the liberty to say, that the more they are in the air, without prejudice to their faces, the stronger and healthier they will be ; and the

<sup>1</sup> **Emotion**] i.e. unusual excitement. Now confined to the mental side of certain feelings.

<sup>2</sup> **A beau**] 'The laws of Sparta, little favourable to foppish delicacy, forbade a man to be either pale or fat ; the former arguing in exposure to the sun ; the latter an effeminate shrinking from manly exercises, or a gluttonous indulgence in the pleasures of the table. Every tenth day the epheboi, or youth, exhibited themselves naked to the Ephori, that it might be seen whether their bodies were *finely sculptured*, as Ælian boldly expresses it, or whether they were sily growing fat ! On one occasion, when Naucrides, the son of Polybiades, was found to be in better case than the law allowed, the young man was publicly driven from the assembly, and threatened with exile, unless he quickly sweated himself down. (*Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. c. 7.*)' *St. J.*

nearer they come to the hardships of their brothers in their education, the greater advantage will they receive from it all the remaining part of their lives.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Their lives]** Much of the substance of this chapter will be found in Montaigne (Essays xx. and xxvii). In the former Montaigne says: 'Inure him to heat and cold, to wind and sun, and to dangers that he ought to despise. Wean him from all effeminacy, and delicacy in clothes and lodging, eating and drinking; accustom him to everything, that he may not be a Sir Paris, a carpet-knight, but a sinewy, hardy, and vigorous young man.' In Essay xxvii. (*Of the Custom of Wearing Clothes*) he says: 'Had we been born with a necessity upon us of wearing petticoats and breeches, there is no doubt but Nature would have fortified those parts she intended should be exposed to the fury of the seasons with a thicker skin, as she has done the finger-ends and the soles of the feet. And why should this seem hard to believe? I observe much greater distance betwixt my habit and that of one of our country boors than betwixt his and a man that has no other covering but his skin. How many men, especially in Turkey, go naked upon the account of devotion? I know not who would ask a beggar, whom he should see in his shirt in the depth of winter, as brisk and frolic as he who goes muffled up to his ears in furs, how he is able to endure to go so? "Why, sir," he might answer, "you go with your face bare, and I am all face." Locke was a careful reader of Montaigne, as we learn from an entry in his Common-place Book. See Lord King's *Life of Locke*, p. 159.

'The chapter on bodily endurance, while of great importance, needs extreme care in its application. Teachers and philosophers that have brought up no children of their own, like Locke, might easily be disposed to deal very boldly with the general principles of endurance, and extol its advantages. But parents and guardians, having in their regulations to take constant note of individual cases, special conditions, and the most trifling circumstances, will doubtless be rather inclined to be a thousand times over-careful than once too reckless.

'With a view to a more ample appreciation of this question we may here quote two passages from Bock's *Book of Sound and Unhealthy People* (Leipzig, 1870, 8th ed.<sup>421 & 767</sup>). "The hardening of the body

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by cold should not be taken in hand before the fifth year, for young children, like plants, flourish only with warmth. Nor even yet should we pass at once from warm baths and washing to cold, but first to luke-warm, and quite gradually to cool and cold water. So also with warm and light clothing. For the rest this hardening process itself has its limits, and even in the case of tolerably seasoned skins warm baths for purposes of cleanliness, as well as warmer clothing, are still indispensable whenever the heated and perspiring surface is liable to sudden chills. Inflammation and other affections of the heart may often be traced to popular practitioners of this school, and it is extremely injurious for

## [ON HABITS.]

10. Playing in the open air has but this one danger in it, that I know ; and that is, that when he is hot with running up and down, he should sit or lie down on the cold or moist earth. This I grant ; and drinking cold drink,<sup>1</sup> when they are hot with labour or exercise, brings more people to the grave, or to the brink of it, by fevers, and other diseases, than any thing I know. These mischiefs are easily enough

chlorotic, nervous, or consumptive subjects, to whom warmth is above all essential, to be treated by such fanatics and subjected to the silly cold-water cure now so fashionable." "If we investigate the causes of these affections (of the lungs), we shall find that in most cases they must be attributed either to the inhaling of raw, cold, or even foul air (dusty or smoky), or else to a too violent cooling of the surface. The cold air has generally exerted its effects after the body has been subject to excessive warmth. It will be also found that the first symptoms of catarrh were not duly attended to, and that the child was not at the time regarded as really indisposed. On the ground of these facts, if we would avoid the already mentioned fatal inflammations, we should never expose young children to raw, cold, or foul air, or to colds of any sort. Hence little children should be kept in warm rooms both in winter and summer, especially during the prevalence of north and east winds. In the room itself and in the bedroom, the air should be kept pure at a uniform temperature of from 57° to 60° F. Their clothes should be neither too warm nor too light, even when they generate considerable warmth in their own bodies. But the sudden transition from a warm to a cold atmosphere is specially to be avoided. It is by no means beneficial to take children in and out and let them run about in the open, or confine them to a raw or impure atmosphere. Sleeping in cold rooms after passing their time in warm places, and above all their premature subjection to cold ablutions and running about half naked, have been the fruitful cause of rheums, coughs, hooping-cough, croup, and death itself. A careful mother will find a thermometer and weathercock indispensable, if she wishes to protect her little ones from dangerous disorders of the throat and from their not unfrequent incurable effects. A great number of lung complaints must be referred to such disorders taken in early childhood. It is not merely foolish but positively criminal to describe as superfluous effeminacy the care demanded by nature itself during the first years of existence, and to advise mothers to be somewhat remiss in these respects." S.

<sup>1</sup> Cold drink] 'But still more injurious than cold drinks is the breathing of cold air while the body is heated, and the exposure of the heated surface to a cold temperature.' S.

prevented whilst he is little, being then seldom out of sight. And if, during his childhood, he be constantly and rigorously kept from sitting on the ground, or drinking any cold liquor whilst he is hot, the custom of forbearing, grown into habit, will help much to preserve him, when he is no longer under his maid's or tutor's eye. This is all I think can be done in the case: for, as years increase, liberty must come with them; and in a great many things he must be trusted to his own conduct, since there cannot always be a guard upon him, except what you have put into his own mind by good principles, and established habits,<sup>1</sup> which is the best and surest, and therefore most to be taken care of. For, from repeated cautions and rules, never so often inculcated, you are not to expect any thing either in this, or any other case, farther than practice has established them into habits.

## [CLOTHES.]

11. One thing the mention of the girls brings into my mind, which must not be forgot; and that is, that your son's clothes be never made strait,<sup>2</sup> especially about the breast. Let Nature have scope to fashion the body as she thinks best. She works of herself a great deal better and exacter than we can direct her. And if women were themselves to frame the bodies of their children in their wombs, as they often endeavour to mend their shapes when they are

<sup>1</sup> **Established habits]** This remark is of far-reaching application, and eminently deserves the teacher's attention. Supervision and direction are absolutely necessary in the management of children during the early stages of their education, but the teacher's aim should be to instil principles which his pupils will, later on, be able to apply for themselves, and to form habits which will continue to exert their force even when external constraint and restraint are removed.

<sup>2</sup> **Strait]** i.e. tight, narrow. Cf. 'strait-laced.' From Lat. *strictus*, close-drawn. *Straight* is from a different source, and is probably connected with 'stretch.'

out, we should as certainly have no perfect children born, as we have few well-shaped that are strait-laced, or much tampered with. This consideration should, methinks, keep busy people (I will not say ignorant nurses and bodice-makers) from meddling in a matter they understand not; and they should be afraid to put Nature out of her way in fashioning the parts, when they know not how the least and meanest is made. And yet I have seen so many instances of children receiving great harm from strait-lacing, that I cannot but conclude there are other creatures as well as monkeys, who, little wiser than they, destroy their young ones by senseless fondness, and too much embracing.

12. Narrow breasts, short and stinking breath, ill lungs, and crookedness, are the natural and almost constant effects of hard bodice, and clothes that pinch. That way of making slender waists, and fine shapes, serves but the more effectually to spoil them. Nor can there indeed but be disproportion in the parts, when the nourishment prepared in the several offices of the body cannot be distributed as nature designs. And therefore what wonder is it, if, it being laid where it can, on some part not so braced, it often makes a shoulder or hip higher or bigger than its just proportion? <sup>1</sup> It is generally known, that the women

<sup>1</sup> **Just proportion]** 'Were smallness in the waist an improvement in the human form, I should be little surprised at the efforts of ignorant young women, who have no idea of any other merit than that of external appearance, at compressing themselves in order to arrive at this supposed perfection. But such a waist as they aim at creating is wholly incompatible with female beauty, and inspires in the beholder a notion of deformity and disease. The Venus de' Medici, the Venus Kallipyga, and all other ancient statues, regarded as perfect models of feminine loveliness, are comparatively large in the waist; while the figures of Hindoo goddesses, specimens of which may be seen in the British Museum, have precisely the unsightly defect so much coveted by our unreflecting countrywomen, but considered by all persons of cultivated taste as a mark of barbarian blood.' *St. J.*



of China, (imagining I know not what kind of beauty in it,) by bracing and binding them hard from their infancy, have very little feet. I saw lately a pair of China shoes, which I was told was for a grown woman : they were so exceedingly disproportioned to the feet of one of the same age among us, that they would scarce have been big enough for one of our little girls. Besides this, it is observed, that their women are also very little, and short-lived ; whereas the men are of the ordinary stature of other men, and live to a proportionable age. These defects in the female sex in that country, are by some imputed to the unreasonable binding of their feet, whereby the free circulation of the blood is hindered, and the growth and health of the whole body suffer. And how often do we see, that some small part of the foot being injured by a wrench or a blow, the whole leg or thigh thereby loses its strength and nourishment, and dwindles away ? How much greater inconveniences may we expect, when the thorax, wherein is placed the heart and seat of life, is unnaturally compressed, and hindered from its due expansion ?

[DIET.]

13. As for his diet, it ought to be very plain and simple ; and, if I might advise, flesh<sup>1</sup> should be for-

<sup>1</sup> **Flesh]** 'On a flesh diet Bock is decidedly opposed to Locke. "What food," he asks, "animal or vegetable, should man take? Neither the one nor the other can of itself alone supply sufficient nourishment, because the animal contains too little fat and oily substances (carbon), fat- and warmth-generating properties, the vegetable too little nitrogenous, albuminous, tissue- and blood-forming substances. Our whole organisation, even the very formation of our teeth, directs us towards a mixed diet. An exclusively animal diet, as with hunting tribes, would make mankind resemble the beasts of prey, while an exclusively vegetable diet, requiring considerably greater digestive efforts with comparatively less results, gradually produces abnormal corpulence accompanied by bodily and mental lethargy, as in the case of the Hindus."—*Op. cit.* p. 310 ; and at p. 317 : "An adult needs daily from

borne as long as he is in coats, or at least till he is two or three years old. But whatever advantage this may be to his present and future health and strength, I fear it will hardly be consented to by parents, misled by the custom of eating too much flesh themselves, who will be apt to think their children, as they do themselves, in danger to be starved, if they have not flesh at least twice a-day. This I am sure, children will breed their teeth with much less danger, be freer from diseases whilst they were little, and lay the foundations of a healthy and strong constitution much surer, if they were not crammed so much as they are by fond mothers and foolish servants, and were kept wholly from flesh the first three or four years of their lives.

But if my young master must needs have flesh, let it be but once a day, and of one sort at a meal. Plain beef, mutton, veal, &c., without other sauce than hunger, is best; and great care should be used, that he eat bread plentifully, both alone and with every thing else; and whatever he eats that is solid, make him chew it well. We English are often negligent herein; from whence follow indigestion, and other great inconveniences.

14. For breakfast and supper, milk, milk-pottage, water-gruel, flummery,<sup>1</sup> and twenty other things, that we are wont to make in England, are very fit for children: only, in all these, let care be taken that they be plain, and without much mixture,

two to three pounds solid nutriment, in the ratio of 1 lb. flesh to 1½ or 2 lbs. vegetables, bread, and the like. Even children require about ½ lb. of flesh and as much bread daily in order to thrive." S.

On the variety and quantity of food, see Introduction, pp. 37-8.

<sup>1</sup> **Flummery**] 'Welsh *Llymry*, an acid preparation from the husks and fragments of oats, from *llym*, sharp. It is the same as the Scotch *sour sourns*.' (Wedgwood.) The initial *f* represents the imperfect endeavour of English lingual organs to sound the Welsh *ll*. Cf. '*Fhuellen*' for '*Llewellyn*.'

and very sparingly seasoned with sugar,<sup>1</sup> or rather none at all; especially all spice,<sup>2</sup> and other things that may heat the blood, are carefully to be avoided. Be sparing also of salt in the seasoning of all his victuals, and use him not to high-seasoned meats. Our palates grow into a relish, and liking of the seasoning and cookery, which by custom they are set to; and an over-much use of salt, besides that it occasions thirst, and over-much drinking,

<sup>1</sup> **Sugar]** 'In opposition to Locke's characteristic warning against the eating of sugar, we may here quote a passage from Bock (*op. cit.* p. 375): "Sugar, as well as syrups and honey, not only serves to season our food, but also, like starch-flour, is more easily digested, possesses excellent fat-forming, nutritive, and heat-generating properties. Sugar also promotes the secretion of the gastric juice, and aids the digestion of the albuminous, iron- and lime-containing substances, by gradually changing to lactic and butyric acid in the digestive apparatus. In the form of carbonic acid and water, the decomposed sugar is at last removed from the system mainly through the lungs. Sugar is accordingly of great value in sustaining the body, as is also evident from the lactine contained in milk. That sugar destroys sound teeth and causes acidity in the stomach is an erroneous view," &c. Locke seems also to form perhaps too unfavourable an opinion on the consequences of the use of salt. Bock says (*op. cit.* p. 374): "Kitchen salt is no doubt spoken of as a saline condiment, but it is also a real and absolutely indispensable article of food; for salt is a substantial ingredient of the blood and tissues, especially the gristle, and is constantly being expelled in such quantities through the skin, kidneys, and other secreting organs, that we are compelled to constantly renew the supply. As the vegetable substances contain much less salt than the animal, the former require to be more highly seasoned than the latter, which need salt all the less the more they are charged with blood, because blood itself contains an abundance of salt. Kitchen salt further aids digestion in so far as it promotes the secretion of the gastric juice, and furthers the decomposition of albuminous substances and indigestible fats. But, by withdrawing water from the blood for its decomposition, it produces thirst and excites a craving for drink. If taken in too great quantities, salt hinders digestion, and if the due amount of wholesome nutriment be also wanting, it produces the scorbutic affection of the blood known as scurvy. This is occasioned especially by the exclusive use of salt meat (as on board ship), from which the salt has withdrawn a great portion of its nutritious properties, mingling them with the pickle. Hence with such meat we should always take vegetables, sourcruit, potatoes, and bread." S.

<sup>2</sup> **All spice]** Wrongly printed 'allspice' in the edition of 1836.

has other ill effects upon the body. I should think, that a good piece of well-made and well-baked brown bread, sometimes with, and sometimes without butter or cheese, would be often the best breakfast for my young master. I am sure it is as wholesome, and will make him as strong a man as greater delicacies; and if he be used to it, it will be as pleasant to him. If he at any time calls for victuals between meals, use him to nothing but dry bread. If he be hungry more than wanton,<sup>1</sup> bread alone will down; and if he be not hungry, it is not fit he should eat. By this you will obtain two good effects. 1. That by custom he will come to be in love with bread; for, as I said, our palates and stomachs too are pleased with the things we are used to. Another good you will gain hereby, is, that you will not teach him to eat more or oftener than nature requires. I do not think that all people's appetites are alike; some have naturally stronger, and some weaker stomachs. But this I think, that many are made gourmands and gluttons by custom,<sup>2</sup> that were not so by nature; and I see in some countries, men as lusty and strong, that eat but two meals a day, as others that have set their stomachs by a constant usage, like larums, to call on them for four or five. The Romans usually fasted till supper,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Wanton**] Fanciful. The word 'wanton' means, properly, uneducated, unrestrained, from the O. E. negative particle *wan* (cf. *wanhope* = despair) and *teon*, to draw, perfect participle *togen* or *getogen*. In the *Anglen Rivale* we find the opposite word, *full-itowen*, i.e. fully educated. The substantive 'wanton' was formerly often used to denote a spoiled child, e.g. 'Thy parents made thee a *wanton* with too much cockering,' (*Euphuus*, Arbor's reprint, p. 36.) 'A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the oldest respected, and the youngest made *wantons*.' (Bacon's *Essays*, vii.)

<sup>2</sup> **Custom**] Our forefathers used this word interchangeably with habit. Cf. 'My custom always in the afternoon' (*Hamlet*). We now usually speak of the habits of an individual and the customs of a community or nation.

<sup>3</sup> 'The practice in this respect varied in the different ages of the

the only set meal even of those who eat more than once a day ; and those who used breakfasts, as some did, at eight, some at ten, others at twelve of the clock, and some later, neither eat flesh, nor had anything made ready for them. Augustus,<sup>1</sup> when the greatest monarch on the earth, tells us, he took a bit of dry bread in his chariot. And Seneca,<sup>2</sup> in his eighty-third epistle, giving an account how he managed himself, even when he was old, and his age permitted indulgence, says, that he used to eat a piece of dry bread for his dinner, without the formality of sitting to it, though his estate would have as well paid for a better meal (had health required it) as any subject's in England, were it doubled. The masters of the world were bred up with this spare diet ; and the young gentlemen of Rome felt no want of strength or spirit, because they eat but once a day. Or if it happened by chance, that any one could not fast so long as till supper, their only set meal, he took nothing but a bit of dry bread, or at most a few raisins, or some such slight thing with it, to stay his stomach. This part of temperance was found so necessary both for health and business, that the custom of only one meal a day held out against that prevailing luxury, which their eastern conquests and spoils had brought in amongst them ; and those who had given up their old frugal eating, and made feasts, yet began them not till the evening. And more than

Commonwealth. Among the Greeks it was customary, as with us, to eat three, sometimes four meals in the day, and that even in the Homeric age.' *St. J.*

<sup>1</sup> **Augustus]** Locke seems to follow here the statement of Suetonius, who, in his *Life of Augustus* (chap. lxxvi.), quotes the following extracts from the letters of the emperor : 'In our travelling coach we ate some bread and dates.' And : 'As I returned in the litter home from the palace, I ate a bit of bread with a few hard grapes.'

<sup>2</sup> **Seneca]** *Epist.* lxxxiii. : 'Thereafter, without coming to table, I ate a piece of dry bread as a collation, after which I do not require to wash my hands.'

one set meal a day,<sup>1</sup> was thought so monstrous, that it was a reproach as low down as Cæsar's time, to make an entertainment, or sit down to a full table, till towards sunset; and therefore if it would not be thought too severe, I should judge it most convenient that my young master should have nothing but bread too for breakfast. You cannot imagine of what force custom is; and I impute a great part of our diseases in England, to our eating too much flesh, and too little bread.

## [MEALS.]

15. As to his meals, I should think it best, that as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they should not be kept constantly to an hour:<sup>2</sup> for when custom

<sup>1</sup> More than one set meal a day] The business day at Rome began about nine o'clock. A slight meal, called *jentaculum*, was taken before this. It consisted of bread either dipped in wine or eaten with some relish. Martial relates how boys on their way to school bought as their *jentaculum* a kind of short cake at the baker's. The first substantial meal of the day was the *prandium*, which corresponded to the French *déjeuner à la fourchette*, and was eaten at noon. In early times the *cena* was the midday meal, the *prandium* being a breakfast; but the hour for the *cena* came by degrees to be later. The *prandium* consisted of meat, hot and cold, fish, vegetables, fruit, bread, and wine. The chief meal of the day was the dinner (*cena*), which was taken about 2.30 in summer and 1.30 in winter. In early days the common fare at dinner as well as at breakfast was porridge made of wheat or spelt. To this were usually added vegetables of various kinds, such as peas, beans, lentils, cabbage, leeks, and onions. Meat was rarely eaten even at the tables of the noble. Even bread was not always used. In an ordinary dinner there were three distinct courses. The first consisted of such things as were supposed to whet the appetite. Then followed in olden times a single course, such as beans and bacon; but later six or seven courses. Lastly came dessert, consisting of fruit and cakes. (Abridged from Professor Wilkins' *Roman Antiquities*. Macmillan.)

<sup>2</sup> Locke gives us too favourable an account of the private life of the wealthy Romans, as may be seen from all the more ample recent histories. As early as the second century before Christ there set in a constantly increasing luxury and debauchery of every description on the part of the rich, whilst hunger and misery prevailed amongst the poorer classes.' S.

<sup>2</sup> To an hour] Irregularity in the hour of meals might be of some

has fixed his eating to certain stated periods, his stomach will expect victuals at the usual hour, and grow peevish if he passes it; either fretting itself into a troublesome excess, or flagging into a downright want of appetite. Therefore I would have no time kept constantly to, for his breakfast, dinner, and supper, but rather varied almost every day. And if betwixt these, which I call meals, he will eat, let him have, as often as he calls for it, good dry bread. If any one think this too hard and sparing a diet for a child, let them know, that a child will never starve nor dwindle for want of nourishment, who, besides flesh at dinner, and spoon-meat, or some such other thing, at supper, may have good bread and beer<sup>1</sup> as often as he has a stomach. For thus, upon second thoughts, I should judge it best for children to be ordered. The morning is generally designed for study, to which a full stomach is but an ill preparation. Dry bread, though the best nourishment, has the least

value as a discipline in forming habits of self-restraint and fortitude, but no medical man would, I presume, recommend it on any other grounds. Bock says (*op. cit.* p. 315): 'As regards the number of daily meals, from three to four are best suited to our wants; only we should see that they neither follow too closely on each other, nor succeed at too long intervals, say from five to six hours. *The habit of taking them at fixed times is of great advantage* to the digestion, and should be interfered with only under exceptional circumstances, as when a stronger appetite arises from greater bodily exertion, or from a greatly reduced amount of nourishment.'

<sup>1</sup> Beer] 'Here again Locke expresses an opinion which must be absolutely rejected. Milk and water rather than beer or wine and such like are suitable for children. It is a downright crime to accustom them to the use of a drink which so easily leads to excess, and which, moreover, is comparatively so seldom to be had in a perfectly innocuous and sound condition. This is especially true of the heavier kinds of beer, but even the lighter qualities had better be kept from the knowledge of the child.' S.

Plato was of opinion that children should not taste wine at all until they were eighteen years of age. (*De Legibus*, lib. ii.) It should be remembered that, when Locke wrote this essay, tea and coffee had not come into ordinary use as beverages, and were probably not drunk by children at all.

temptation: and nobody would have a child crammed at breakfast, who has any regard to his mind or body, and would not have him dull and unhealthy. Nor let any one think this unsuitable to one of estate and condition.<sup>1</sup> A gentleman in any age ought to be so bred, as to be fitted to bear arms, and be a soldier. But he that in this, breeds his son so, as if he designed him to sleep over his life in the plenty and ease of a full fortune he intends to leave him, little considers the examples he has seen,<sup>2</sup> or the age he lives in.

## [DRINK.]

16. His drink should be only small beer; and that too he should never be suffered to have between meals, but after he had eat a piece of bread. The reasons why I say this, are these:—

17. 1. More fevers and surfeits are got by people's drinking when they are hot, than by any one thing I know. Therefore, if by play he be hot and dry, bread will ill go down; and so if he cannot have drink, but upon that condition, he will be forced to forbear; for, if he be very hot, he should by no means drink; at least a good piece of bread first to be eaten will gain time to warm the beer blood hot, which then he may drink safely. If he be very dry, it will go down so warmed, and quench his thirst better; and if he will not drink it so warmed, abstaining will not hurt him. Besides, this will teach him to forbear, which is a habit of greatest use for health of body and mind too.

18. 2. Not being permitted to drink without eating, will prevent the custom of having the cup

<sup>1</sup> **One of estate and condition**] i.e. a person of property and rank.

<sup>2</sup> **The examples he has seen**] Locke was probably thinking of the reverses of fortune which so many English families saw between the outbreak of the Civil War and the Revolution of 1688. His own father inherited a much ampler fortune than he left to his son.



often at his nose ; a dangerous beginning, and preparation to good fellowship.<sup>1</sup> Men often bring habitual hunger and thirst on themselves by custom. And if you please to try, you may, though he be weaned from it, bring him by use to such a necessity again of drinking in the night, that he will not be able to sleep without it. It being the lullaby used by nurses, to still crying children, I believe mothers generally find some difficulty to wean their children from drinking in the night, when they first take them home.<sup>2</sup> Believe it, custom prevails as much by day as by night ; and you may, if you please, bring any one to be thirsty every hour.

I once lived in a house, where, to appease a forward child, they gave him drink as often as he cried ; so that he was constantly bibbing. And though he could not speak, yet he drank more in twenty-four hours than I did. Try it when you please, you may with small, as well as with strong beer, drink yourself into a drought.<sup>3</sup> The great thing to be minded in education is what habits you settle ; and therefore in this, as all other things, do not begin to make anything customary, the practice whereof you would not have continue, and increase. It is convenient for health and sobriety, to drink no more than natural thirst requires ; and he that eats not salt meats, nor drinks strong drink, will seldom thirst between meals, unless he has been accustomed to such unseasonable drinking.

19. Above all, take great care that he seldom, if ever, taste any wine or strong drink. There is nothing so ordinarily given children in England, and

<sup>1</sup> Good fellowship] i.e. the habits of convivial society.

<sup>2</sup> Home] viz. from their foster-nurses. In England, as on the Continent, the practice of putting out children to nurse would appear to have been very common until Rousseau recalled mothers to their duty by teaching 'Point de mère, point d'enfant' (No mother, no child).

<sup>3</sup> Drought] i.e. perpetual thirst.

nothing so destructive to them. They ought never to drink any strong liquor, but when they need it as a cordial, and the doctor prescribes it. And in this case it is, that servants are most narrowly to be watched, and most severely to be reprehended when they transgress. Those mean sort of people, placing a great part of their happiness in strong drink, are always forward to make court to my young master, by offering him that which they love best themselves: and finding themselves made merry by it, they foolishly think it will do the child no harm. This you are carefully to have your eye upon, and restrain with all the skill and industry you can, there being nothing that lays a surer foundation of mischief, both to body and mind, than children's being used to strong drink, especially to drink in private with the servants.

## [FRUIT.]

20. Fruit makes one of the most difficult chapters in the government of health, especially that of children. Our first parents ventured Paradise for it; and it is no wonder our children cannot stand the temptation, though it cost them their health. The regulation of this cannot come under any one general rule; for I am by no means of their mind, who would keep children almost wholly from fruit,<sup>1</sup> as a thing totally unwholesome for them: by which strict way, they make them but the more ravenous after it, and to eat good and bad, ripe or unripe, all that they can

<sup>1</sup> **From fruit]** See Introduction, p. 36. The natural appetite of children may, in this matter, be safely followed, if due regard be paid to quantity; and in that respect also nature is a sufficient guide, except when her desires have been long disregarded. Children who have fruit daily rarely gorge themselves. There can be little doubt that there is in many people's minds a vague Manichæan fear of all material pleasures, those of food included, and that this dread lies at the bottom of many absurd restrictions which we impose both on ourselves and on children.

get, whenever they come at it. Melons,<sup>1</sup> peaches, most sorts of plums, and all sorts of grapes in England, I think children should be wholly kept from, as having a very tempting taste, in a very unwholesome juice; so that if it were possible, they should never so much as see them, or know there were any such things. But strawberries, cherries, gooseberries, or currants, when thorough ripe, I think may be very safely allowed them, and that with a pretty liberal hand, if they be eaten with these cautions: 1. Not after meals, as we usually do, when the stomach is already full of other food: but I think they should be eaten rather before or between meals, and children should have them for their breakfast. 2. Bread eaten with them. 3. Perfectly ripe. If they are thus eaten, I imagine them rather conducing than hurtful to our health. Summer-fruits, being suitable to the hot season of the year they come in, refresh our stomachs, languishing and fainting under it; and therefore I should not be altogether so strict in this point, as some are to their children: who, being kept so very short, instead of a moderate quantity of well-chosen fruit, which being allowed them, would content them, whenever they can get loose, or bribe a servant to supply them, satisfy their longing with any trash they can get, and eat to a surfeit.

Apples and pears too, which are thorough ripe, and have been gathered some time, I think may be safely eaten at any time, and in pretty large quan-

<sup>1</sup> *Melons, &c.*] 'The unqualified warning against "melons, peaches, most kinds of English plums and berries," is doubtless best to be explained by the stress laid on the limitation to England. It recalls the anecdote mentioned of Carraccioli, who used to remark, with playful exaggeration, that the only ripe fruit he ever saw in England were baked apples. Bock says (*op. cit.* p. 373): "Extremely watery fruits contain but little nourishment, and their nutritive portions are mostly void of nitrogen. They are not easily digested, owing to the indigestible cellulose, rind, and colouring matter." As regards the rind, fruits are recommended to be peeled.' S.

tities ; especially apples, which never did any body hurt, that I have heard, after October.

Fruits also dried without sugar, I think very wholesome. But sweetmeats of all kinds are to be avoided : which, whether they do more harm to the maker<sup>1</sup> or eater, is not easy to tell. This I am sure, it is one of the most inconvenient ways of expense that vanity hath yet found out ; and so I leave them to the ladies.

[SLEEP.]

21. Of all that looks soft and effeminate, nothing is more to be indulged children, than sleep.<sup>2</sup> In this

<sup>1</sup> **The maker]** 'By the fumes of the charcoal, which are incessantly breathed by the persons who make the liquid confections, to which reference is here made.' (Coste.) This note was probably written after consultation with Locke, for in Coste's translation of the first edition he writes : 'Mais on doit s'abstenir de toutes sortes de confitures dont on ne sçauroit dire si elles incommode plus par la dépense celui qui les fait, qu'elles font du mal à celui qui les mange.'

<sup>2</sup> **Sleep]** 'According to Pettenkofer, sleep is caused by the want of oxygen, which is gradually used up by the greater energy displayed by the organs while awake, and which again becomes stored up while asleep. Bock remarks (*op. cit.* p. 459) : "As a rule, the adult needs no more than seven or eight hours of sleep. Children, who, when sleepy, should never be prevented from sleeping, require, on the contrary, from ten to sixteen hours daily. For the female sex sleep is also a greater necessity than for men, as is also the case with the feeble, sickly, chlorotic, and those of sanguineous temperament. As sufficiently long, quiet, deep, and uninterrupted sleep alone can strengthen and revive the brain, and with it the whole nervous and muscular system, every effort should be constantly made to give it these properties." And at p. 496 : "In respect of sleep young infants at the breast are differently constituted from older children. During the first period of existence the child sleeps away most of its time, probably owing to the almost complete passivity of the brain. But sleep continually diminishes with the gradual awakening of the senses and of the mental or brain work thereby stimulated. For it is the brain alone that sleeps. But as with eating so also with sleep, the normal state must be gradually established, so that at last the child is kept awake for a definite interval, followed by a corresponding interval of sleep, especially in the night and after drinking." At p. 505 : "Sleep, even during the day, is absolutely necessary for young children, who are only just beginning to learn the use of their muscles, and hence need proper rest. Therefore

alone they are to be permitted to have their full satisfaction; nothing contributing more to the growth and health of children than sleep. All that is to be regulated in it, is, in what part of the twenty-four hours they should take it; which will easily be resolved, by only saying, that it is of great use to accustom them to rise early in the morning. It is best so to do, for health; and he that, from his childhood, has, by a

at some fixed time, say after the midday meal, they should be laid in or on the bed, either in their night clothes or else in very loose garments. In order to ensure a quiet sleep undisturbed by dreams, they should be kept for a short time previously from all violent excitement and mental agitation—games, stories, &c.” Again at p. 518: “Sleep, which, owing to the great bodily and mental exertion, is always good in youth, should be also of sufficient length, and should last at least from ten to twelve hours. Those parents are wrong who allow their children to sleep only as long as themselves. The immediate consequences are impoverished blood and other infantile complaints.” S.

‘They who have had the care of children well know how impossible it is to abridge with safety the quantity of sleep required by their different temperaments; and how unphilosophical are the views of those who would regulate it, not according to the constitution, but to the age. Some, for their health’s sake, have need of much more sleep than others; and perhaps, in childhood, it is the more robust that require most. As a general rule, it may be laid down that, during the first years of their lives, children need more repose than afterwards; and many, perhaps, will agree with Fried-Londez, who, in his work on education, makes the following approximation to an exact distribution of time :

Age.	Sleep.	Exercise.	Occupation.	Rest.
7 years	9 or 10 hours	10	1	4
8	9	9	2	4
9	9	8	3	4
10	8 to 9	8	4	4
11	8	7	5	4
12	8	6	6	4
13	8	5	7	4
14	7	5	8	4
15	7	4	9	4

M. Bureaud-Riofrey, who quotes the above table, has some very good remarks on this subject (*Education Physique des Jeunes Filles*, &c. p. 283, *sqq.*) ; but it is impossible that any person but the parents, or those who *pro tempore* stand in their place, should regulate the quantity of sleep necessary to a child, which must be determined by its constitution and mental activity.’ S. J.

settled custom, made rising betimes easy and familiar to him, will not, when he is a man, waste the best and most useful part of his life in drowsiness, and lying in bed. If children therefore are to be called up early in the morning, it will follow of course, that they must go to bed betimes; whereby they will be accustomed to avoid the unhealthy and unsafe hours of debauchery, which are those of the evenings; and they who keep good hours, seldom are guilty of any great disorders. I do not say this, as if your son, when grown up, should never be in company past eight, nor ever chat over a glass of wine until midnight. You are now, by the accustoming of his tender years, to indispose him to those inconveniences<sup>1</sup> as much as you can; and it will be no small advantage, that contrary practice having made sitting up uneasy to him, it will make him often avoid, and very seldom propose midnight revels. But if it should not reach so far, but fashion and company should prevail, and make him live as others do about<sup>2</sup> twenty, it is worth the while to accustom him to early rising and early going to bed between this and that, for the present improvement of his health, and other advantages.

Though I have said, a large allowance of sleep, even as much as they will take, should be made to children when they are little; yet I do not mean, that it should always be continued to them in so large a proportion, and they suffered to indulge a drowsy laziness in their beds, as they grow up bigger. But whether they should begin to be restrained at seven, or ten years old, or any other time, is impossible to be precisely determined. Their tempers,

<sup>1</sup> **Inconveniences**] i.e. improprieties, in accordance with the etymology of the word. Lat. *conveniens* = fitting, becoming. Cf. 'Neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not *convenient*' (Rom. i. 28).

<sup>2</sup> **About**] So the octavos of 1693 and 1699. The folio of 1714 reads *above*.

strength, and constitutions, must be considered. But some time between seven and fourteen, if they are too great lovers of their beds, I think it may be seasonable to begin to reduce them by degrees to about eight hours, which is generally rest enough for healthy grown people. If you have accustomed him as you should do, to rise constantly very early in the morning, this fault of being too long in bed will easily be reformed, and most children will be forward enough to shorten that time themselves, by coveting to sit up with the company at night ; though if they be not looked after, they will be apt to take it out in the morning, which should by no means be permitted. They should constantly be called up and made to rise at their early hour ; but great care should be taken in waking them, that it be not done hastily,<sup>1</sup> nor with a loud or shrill voice, or any other sudden violent noise. This often affrights children, and does them great harm ; and sound sleep thus broke off, with sudden alarms, is apt enough to discompose any one. When children are to be wakened out of their sleep, be sure to begin with a low call, and some gentle motion, and so draw them out of it by degrees, and give them none but kind words and usage, until they are come perfectly to themselves, and being quite dressed,<sup>2</sup> you are sure they are thoroughly awake. The being forced from their sleep, how gently soever you do it, is pain enough to them ; and care should be taken not to add any other uneasiness to it, especially such that may terrify them.

<sup>1</sup> **Not done hastily]** Locke here follows Montaigne, who says : 'Some being of opinion, it did trouble and disturb the brains of children suddenly to waken them in the morning, and to snatch them violently and over hastily from sleep (wherein they are much more profoundly involved than we), he only caused me to be waked by the sound of some musical instrument, and was never unprovided of a musician for that purpose.' (Cotton's Translation.)

<sup>2</sup> **Dressed]** Locke seems to use this word in the sense of *erect*, Cf. Fr. *se dresser*, to stand up.

22. Let his bed be hard, and rather quilts than feathers. Hard lodging strengthens the parts ; whereas being buried every night in feathers melts and dissolves the body, is often the cause of weakness, and the forerunner of an early grave. And, besides the stone, which has often its rise from this warm wrapping of the reins, several other indispositions, and that which is the root of them all, a tender weakly constitution, is very much owing to down-beds. Besides, he that is used to hard lodging at home, will not miss his sleep (where he has most need of it) in his travels abroad, for want of his soft bed, and his pillows laid in order. And therefore, I think it would not be amiss, to make his bed after different fashions ;<sup>1</sup> sometimes lay his head higher, sometimes lower, that he may not feel every little change he must be sure to meet with, who is not designed to lie always in my young master's bed at home, and to have his maid lay all things in print, and tuck him in warm. The great cordial of nature is sleep. He that misses that, will suffer by it ; and he is very unfortunate, who can take his cordial only in his mother's fine gilt cup, and not in a wooden dish. He that can sleep soundly, takes the cordial ; and it matters not, whether it be on a soft bed, or the hard boards. It is sleep only that is the thing necessary.

## [COSTIVENESS.]

23. One thing more there is, which has a great influence upon the health, and that is, going to stool regularly : people that are very loose, have seldom

<sup>1</sup> **After different fashions]** This seems very bad advice. If one fashion be found better than another, common sense suggests that it should be adhered to. Nothing can harden which does not improve the health and therewith increase the bodily strength. The main point to be attended to, in the matter of position, is to take care that during sleep the neck should not be bent so as to prevent the free flow of blood to the brain and back,



strong thoughts, or strong bodies. But the cure of this, both by diet and medicine, being much more easy than the contrary evil, there needs not much to be said about it: for if it come to threaten, either by its violence or duration, it will soon enough, and sometimes too soon, make a physician be sent for; and if it be moderate or short, it is commonly best to leave it to nature. On the other side, costiveness has too its ill effects, and is much harder to be dealt with by physic; purging medicines, which seem to give relief, rather increasing than removing the evil.

24. It being an indisposition I had a particular reason to inquire into, and not finding the cure of it in books, I set my thoughts on work, believing, that greater changes than that might be made in our bodies if we took the right course, and proceeded by rational steps.

1. Then I considered, that going to stool, was the effect of certain motions of the body; especially of the peristaltic motion of the guts.

2. I considered, that several motions, that were not perfectly voluntary, might yet, by use and constant application, be brought to be habitual, if by an unintermitted custom they were at certain seasons endeavoured to be constantly produced.

3. I had observed some men, who by taking after supper a pipe of tobacco, never failed of a stool, and began to doubt with myself, whether it were not more custom, than the tobacco, that gave them the benefit of nature; or at least, if the tobacco did it, it was rather by exciting a vigorous motion in the guts, than by any purging quality; for then it would have had other effects. Having thus once got the opinion, that it was possible to make it habitual, the next thing was to consider what way and means was the likeliest to obtain it.

4. Then I guessed, that if a man, after his first eating in the morning, would presently<sup>1</sup> solicit nature, and try whether he could strain himself so as to obtain a stool, he might in time, by a constant application, bring it to be habitual.

25. The reasons that made me choose that time, were, 1. Because the stomach being then empty, if it received any thing grateful to it (for I would never, but in case of necessity, have any one eat but what he likes, and when he has an appetite) it was apt to embrace it close by a strong constriction of its fibres; which constriction, I supposed, might probably be continued on in the guts, and so increase their peristaltic motion, as we see in the ileus,<sup>2</sup> that an inverted motion, being begun anywhere below, continues itself all the whole length, and makes even the stomach obey that irregular motion.

2. Because when men eat they usually relax their thoughts, and the spirits, then free from other employments, are more vigorously distributed into the lower belly, which thereby contribute to the same effect.

3. Because, whenever men have leisure to eat, they have leisure enough also to make so much court to Madam Cloacina,<sup>3</sup> as would be necessary to our present purpose; but else, in the variety of human affairs and accidents, it was impossible to affix it to

<sup>1</sup> **Presently]** Immediately, at once. So *passim*. 'By and by,' which also formerly meant immediately, has, from the same 'inveterate habit of procrastination,' as Archbishop Trench calls it, undergone a similar change of meaning.

<sup>2</sup> **Ileus]** The technical name of colic. 'The iliac passion is a bad form of ileus or common colic, in which there is inversion of the peristaltic action of the upper part of the small intestines.' (Webster.) From Lat. *ilia*, the small intestines. The French call this disease by the expressive name of *miserère* (*miserere mei*).

<sup>3</sup> **Cloacina]** An obvious euphemism. From Lat. *cloaca*, a sewer. The *cloaca maxima* was an enormous sewer constructed by Tarquinius Priscus, by which the filth of Rome was drained into the Tiber.

any hour certain, whereby the custom would be interrupted. Whereas men in health seldom failing to eat once a day, though the hour be changed, the custom might still be preserved.

26. Upon these grounds the experiment began to be tried, and I have known none who have been steady in the prosecution of it, and taken care to go constantly to the necessary-house, after their first eating, whenever that happened, whether they found themselves called on or not, and there endeavour to put nature upon her duty, but in a few months they obtained the desired success, and brought themselves to so regular a habit, that they seldom ever failed of a stool after their first eating, unless it were by their own neglect: for, whether they have any motion or not, if they go to the place, and do their part, they are sure to have nature very obedient.

27. I would therefore advise, that this course should be taken with a child every day presently after he has eaten his breakfast. Let him be set upon the stool, as if disburthening were as much in his power, as filling his belly; and let not him or his maid know any thing to the contrary, but that it is so; and if he be forced to endeavour, by being hindered from his play, or eating again till he has been effectually at stool, or at least done his utmost, I doubt not but in a little while it will become natural to him. For there is reason to suspect, that children being usually intent on their play, and very heedless of any thing else, often let pass those motions of nature, when she calls them but gently; and so they neglecting the seasonable offers, do by degrees bring themselves into an habitual costiveness. That by this method costiveness may be prevented I do more than guess; having known by the constant practice of it for some time, a child brought to have a stool regularly after his breakfast every morning,

28. How far any grown people will think fit to make trial of it, must be left to them ; though I cannot but say, that considering the many evils that come from that defect of a requisite easing of nature, I scarce know anything more conducing to the preservation of health, than this is. Once in four-and-twenty hours, I think is enough ; and nobody, I guess, will think it too much. And by this means it is to be obtained without physic, which commonly proves very ineffectual in the cure of a settled and habitual costiveness.

## [PHYSIC.]

29. This is all I have to trouble you with concerning his management in the ordinary course of his health. Perhaps it will be expected from me, that I should give some directions of physic, to prevent diseases : for which I have only this one, very sacredly to be observed, never to give children any physic for prevention. The observation of what I have already advised, will, I suppose, do that better than the ladies' diet-drinks<sup>1</sup> or apothecaries' medicines. Have a great care of tampering that way, lest, instead of preventing, you draw on diseases. Nor even upon every little indisposition is physic to be given, or the physician to be called to children, especially if he be a busy man, that will presently<sup>2</sup> fill their windowes with gallipots, and their stomachs with drugs. It is safer to leave them wholly to nature, than to put them into the hands of one forward to tamper, or that thinks children are to be cured, in ordinary distempers,<sup>3</sup> by anything but diet, or by a method very

<sup>1</sup> **Diet-drinks**] i.e. medicated drinks, in the manufacture of which our great-grandmothers took great delight.

<sup>2</sup> **Presently**] See Note I, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> **Distempers**] i.e. sicknesses. The old physiologists referred diseases to some disturbance in the proportion of the four principal

little distant from it: it seeming suitable both to my reason and experience, that the tender constitutions of children should have as little done to them as is possible, and as the absolute necessity of the case requires. A little cold stilled<sup>1</sup> red poppy-water, which is the true surfeit-water,<sup>2</sup> with ease, and abstinence from flesh, often puts an end to several distempers in the beginning, which, by too forward applications, might have been made lusty diseases. When such a gentle treatment will not stop the growing mischief, nor hinder it from turning into a formed disease, it will be time to seek the advice of some sober and discreet physician. In this part, I hope, I shall find an easy belief; and nobody can have a pretence to doubt the advice of one who has spent some time in the study of physic,<sup>3</sup> when he counsels you not to be too forward in making use of physic and physicians.

30. And thus I have done with what concerns the body and health, which reduces itself to these few and easily observable rules. Plenty of open air, exercise and sleep; plain diet, no wine or strong drink, and very little or no physic; not too warm and strait<sup>4</sup> clothing; especially the head and feet kept cold, and the feet often used to cold water, and exposed to wet.

humours, viz. blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy, which were believed to be compounded in the body of man. Lat. *tempero*, to mix.

<sup>1</sup> Cold stilled] The edition of 1693 gives the reading in the text. Later editions read 'cold-stilled.' Coste translates 'un peu d'eau fraîche, mêlée avec de l'eau de fleur de pavot rouge.'

<sup>2</sup> Surfeit water] A medicine made from poppies and other herbs, and given in cases of indigestion. '*Surfeit-water*: Eau distillée avec des pavots et autres herbes propres à guérir d'une indigestion.' (Boyer's *Dict.* 1752.)

<sup>3</sup> In the study of physic] See Life, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Strait] i.e. tight. See Note 2, p. 72.

## [MENTAL CULTURE.—SECTION II. §§ 31-42.]

## [MIND.]

31. Due care being had to keep the body in strength and vigour, so that it may be able to obey and execute the orders of the mind; the next and principal business is, to set the mind right, that on all occasions it may be disposed to consent to nothing but what may be suitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational creature.

32. If what I have said in the beginning of this discourse be true, as I do not doubt but it is, viz. That the difference to be found in the manners and abilities of men is owing more to their education, than to any thing else,<sup>1</sup> we have reason to conclude, that great care is to be had of forming children's minds, and giving them that seasoning<sup>2</sup> early, which shall influence their lives always after: for when they do well or ill, the praise or blame will be laid there; and when any thing is done awkwardly, the common

<sup>1</sup> **Anything else**] See Introduction, p. 18. Helvetius, who professed to be a disciple of Locke, contends throughout his book, *De l'Homme et de ses facultés intellectuelles*, that education is the sole factor of the human product, that originally aptitudes are equal, that the differences between man and man come neither from organisation nor nature, and that education is all. (See Compayré, ii. 221.) He, of course, included 'those occult *collaborateurs* of the teacher, the caresses of the nurse and of the parent, the first games, the first sensations, the first landscapes which strike the view; later on, when adolescence is reached, the form of government, public morals, the religion of the country, the rank we occupy in the world, fortune or poverty, or friendships and the loves.' (i. 225.) Locke is too cautious to fall into the error of his disciple, but he also fails to give sufficient prominence to hereditary characteristics and to the close interdependence of body and mind.

<sup>2</sup> **Seasoning**] i.e. preparation. Thus we speak of *seasoning* wood in the sense of preparing it against the shrinking and warping effects of heat, of *seasoning* the body to endure a particular climate, and so on.

saying will pass upon them, that it is suitable to their breeding.<sup>1</sup>

33. As the strength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure hardships, so also does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth is placed in this, That a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way.

34. The great mistake I have observed in people's breeding their children, has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its due season; that the mind has not been made obedient to discipline, and pliant to reason, when at first it was most tender, most easy to be bowed. Parents being wisely ordained by nature to love their children, are very apt, if reason watch not that natural affection very warily, are apt, I say, to let it run into fondness.<sup>2</sup> They love their little ones, and it is their duty; but they often, with them, cherish their faults too. They must not be crossed, forsooth; they must be permitted to have their wills in all things; and they being in their infancies not capable of great vices, their parents think they may safely enough indulge their little irregularities, and make themselves sport with that pretty perverseness which they think well enough becomes that innocent age. But to a fond parent, that would not have his child corrected for a perverse trick, but excused it, saying it was a small matter, Solon<sup>3</sup> very well replied, aye, but custom is a great one.—

<sup>1</sup> Suitable to their breeding] i.e. in accordance with their bringing-up.

<sup>2</sup> Fondness] i.e. foolish indulgence.

<sup>3</sup> Solon] The celebrated Athenian legislator. Born about B.C. 638. Lord Bacon tells the story of Plato (*Apophthegms*). Erasmus has another version of it, according to which the philosopher severely reproved a young man for playing at dice, who thereupon said to him, 'Do you scold for so trivial a matter?' To which the philosopher

35. The fondling<sup>1</sup> must be taught to strike and call names, must have what he cries for, and do what he pleases. Thus parents, by humouring and cockering<sup>2</sup> them when little, corrupt the principles of nature in their children, and wonder afterwards to taste the bitter waters, when they themselves have poisoned the fountain. For when their children are grown up, and these ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their parents can no longer make use of them as play-things, then they complain that the brats are untoward<sup>3</sup> and perverse; then they are offended to see them wilful, and are troubled with those ill humours which they themselves infused and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out those weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root to be easily extirpated. For he that hath been used to have his will in every thing, as long as he was in coats, why should we think it strange, that he should desire it, and contend for it still, when he is in breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a man, age shows his faults the more; so that there be few

replied: 'It is not a trivial matter to form a habit.' The teacher's maxim should be *Obsta principiis* (Resist the beginnings). 'I find,' says Montaigne, 'that our greatest vices derive their first propensity from our most tender infancy, and that our principal education depends upon the nurses. Mothers are mightily pleased to see a child writhe off the neck of a chicken, or to please itself with hurting a dog or cat; and such wise fathers there are in the world, who look upon it as a notable mark of a martial spirit, when he hears his son miscall, or sees him domineer over a lacquey, that dares not reply, nor turn again; and a great sign of wit when he sees him cheat and overreach his playfellow by some malicious trick of treachery and deceit; but for all that, these are the true seeds and roots of cruelty, tyranny, and treason. They bud and put out there, and afterwards shoot up vigorously, and grow to a prodigious bulk and stature, being cultivated and improved by custom.' (i. 22.)

<sup>1</sup> **Fondling**] i.e. the fondled or petted child.

<sup>2</sup> **Cookering**] See Note 2, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> **Untoward**] i.e. intractable. So 'toward' is often applied to animals in Suffolk in the sense of 'docile,' 'manageable.'



parents then so blind as not to see them, few so insensible as not to feel the ill effects of their own indulgence. He had the will of his maid before he could speak or go;<sup>1</sup> he had the mastery of his parents ever since he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is stronger and wiser than he was then, why now of a sudden must he be restrained and curbed? Why must he at seven, fourteen, or twenty years old, lose the privilege, which the parents' indulgence until then so largely allowed him? Try it in a dog or a horse, or any other creature, and see whether the ill and resty<sup>2</sup> tricks they have learned when young, are easily to be mended when they are knit; and yet none of those creatures are half so wilful and proud, or half so desirous to be masters of themselves and others, as man.

36. We are generally wise enough to begin with them when they are very young, and discipline betimes those other creatures we would make useful and good for somewhat. They are only our own offspring, that we neglect in this point: and having made them ill children, we foolishly expect they should be good men. For if the child must have grapes or sugar-plums when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor baby cry, or be out of humour; why, when he is grown up, must he not be satisfied too, if his desires carry him to wine or women? They are

<sup>1</sup> Go] i.e. walk. The word still survives in this sense in the nursery. Thus a nurse will say: 'Baby will soon begin to go.' Cf.:

'You know that love

Will creep in service where it cannot go.'—SHAKESPEARE.

A go-cart was a contrivance for enabling children to learn to walk without incurring the danger of falling.

<sup>2</sup> Resty] i.e. restive. It. *restivo*, drawing backward like a stubborn horse. 'Immobile, lazy, stubborn, are the three stages of meaning which the word went through before it received the fourth and present.' (Trench's *Select Glossary*.) Phillips says: '*Restive*, or *resty*, drawing back instead of going forward, as some horses do.' (*New World of Words*.)

objects as suitable to the longing of one of more years, as what he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a child. The having desires, accommodated to the apprehensions and relish of those several ages, is not the fault; but the not having them subject to the rules and restraints of reason: the difference lies not in the having or not having appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny ourselves in them. He that is not used to submit his will to the reason of others when he is young, will scarce hearken or submit to his own reason when he is of an age to make use of it. And what kind of a man such a one is like to prove, is easy to foresee.

37. These are oversights usually committed by those who seem to take the greatest care of their children's education. But if we look into the common management of children, we shall have reason to wonder, in the great dissoluteness of manners<sup>1</sup> which the world complains of, that there are any footsteps at all left of virtue. I desire to know what vice can be named, which parents, and those about children, do not season<sup>2</sup> them with, and drop into them the seeds of, as soon as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the examples they give, and the patterns they set before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here is, the downright teaching them vice, and actual putting them out of the way of virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with violence, revenge, and cruelty. Give me a blow, that I may beat him, is a lesson which most children every day hear; and it is thought nothing, because their hands have not strength to do any mischief. But I ask does not this corrupt

<sup>1</sup> **Manners]** i.e. morals. Cf. 'Evil communications corrupt good manners' (ἡθῆ).

<sup>2</sup> **Season]** i.e. imbue them with, as if in anticipation of the necessities of their after-life.

their mind? Is not this the way of force and violence, that they are set in? And if they have been taught when little, to strike and hurt others by proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and see them suffer, are they not prepared to do it when they are strong enough to be felt themselves, and can strike to some purpose?

The coverings of our bodies, which are for modesty, warmth, and defence, are by the folly or vice of parents recommended to their children for other uses. They are made matter of vanity and emulation. A child is set a longing after a new suit, for the finery of it; and when the little girl is tricked up in her new gown and commode,<sup>1</sup> how can her mother do less than teach her to admire herself, by calling her, her little queen and her princess? Thus the little ones are taught to be proud of their clothes, before they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value themselves for this outside fashionableness of the tailor or tirewoman's<sup>2</sup> making, when their parents have so early instructed them to do so?

Lying and equivocations, and excuses little different from lying, are put into the mouths of young people, and commended in apprentices and children, whilst they are for their masters' or parents' advantage. And can it be thought, that he that finds the straining of truth dispensed with, and encouraged,

<sup>1</sup> **Commode]** A kind of head-dress formerly worn by ladies.

<sup>2</sup> **Tirewoman]** A woman whose occupation was to make tires or head-dresses. Cf. 'their round tires like the moon' (Is. v. 18); 'Bind the tire of thine head upon thee' (Ez. xxiv. 17). *Tire* is connected by some with the Persian *tiara*. But we need not go so far to find the origin of the word. *Tir* in O. E. means splendour, brightness, and may have been transferred from the abstract notion to a concrete object conspicuously illustrating it. Cf. Ger. *Zier*, an ornament. There is yet another possible derivation. The old French word *atour* means a hood or woman's head-dress. See *Bible Word-Book*, by Aldis Wright.

whilst it is for his godly master's turn, will not make use of that privilege for himself, when it may be for his own profit?

Those of the meaner sort are hindered, by the straitness<sup>1</sup> of their fortunes, from encouraging intemperance in their children, by the temptation of their diet, or invitations to eat or drink more than enough; but their own ill examples, whenever plenty comes in their way, show that it is not the dislike of drunkenness or gluttony, that keeps them from excess, but want of materials. But if we look into the houses of those who are a little warmer in their fortunes, there eating and drinking are made so much the great business and happiness of life, that children are thought neglected, if they have not their share of it. Sauces and ragouts,<sup>2</sup> and food disguised by all the arts of cookery, must tempt their palates, when their bellies are full, and then, for fear the stomach should be overcharged, a pretence is found for t' other glass of wine to help digestion, though it only serves to increase the surfeit.

Is my young master a little out of order, the first question is, What will my dear eat? What shall I get for thee? Eating and drinking are instantly pressed; and every body's invention is set on work to find out something luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of appetite, which nature has wisely ordered in the beginning of distempers, as a defence against their increase; that being freed from the ordinary labour of digesting any new load in the stomach, she may be at leisure to correct and master the peccant humours.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Straitness]** i.e. narrowness.

<sup>2</sup> **Ragouts]** Highly seasoned dishes. Fr. *ragôter*, to restore a jaded appetite.

<sup>3</sup> **Peccant humours]** A favourite phrase of the older physiologists to denote the morbid humours of the body. 'L'humeur peccante. The corrupt or corrupting humor in the bodie.' (Cotgrave's *Fr. Dict.*) Cf.:

And where children are so happy in the care of their parents, as by their prudence to be kept from the excess of their tables, to the sobriety of a plain and simple diet, yet there too they are scarce to be preserved from the contagion that poisons the mind; though, by a discreet management whilst they are under tuition, their healths perhaps may be pretty well secured, yet their desires must needs yield to the lessons which everywhere will be read to them upon this part of epicurism. The commendation that eating well has everywhere, cannot fail to be a successful incentive to natural appetite, and bring them quickly to the liking and expense of a fashionable table. This shall have from every one, even the reprovers of vice, the title of living well.<sup>1</sup> And what shall sullen reason dare to say against the public testimony? Or can it hope to be heard, if it should call that luxury,<sup>2</sup> which is so much owned and universally practised by those of the best quality?<sup>3</sup>

This is now so grown a vice, and has so great supports, that I know not whether it do not put in for the name of virtue; and whether it will not be thought folly, or want of knowledge of the world, to open one's mouth against it. And truly I should suspect, that what I have here said of it might be censured as a little satire out of my way, did I not

<sup>1</sup> 'Besides the which there are some other rather peccant humours [Lat. *vitiosi humores*] than formed diseases.' (Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, iv. 12.) See note on 'distemper,' p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> **Living well**] Cf. the French *bon vivant*. This is a good instance of what Archbishop Trench calls the morality in words. 'To live well' and 'good living' are phrases which show how much greater store we set on material enjoyment than on virtuous conduct.

<sup>3</sup> **Luxury**] This word formerly denoted a voluptuous and dissolute indulgence in material pleasures. Lat. *luxus, luxuria*, giving loose to material enjoyments. Phillips defines the word, 'all superfluity and excess in carnal pleasures, sumptuous fare or building; sensuality, riotousness, profuseness.' (*New World of Words*.)

<sup>4</sup> **Best quality**] i.e. highest rank,

mention it with this view, that it might awaken the care and watchfulness of parents in the education of their children, when they see how they are beset on every side, not only with temptations, but instructors to vice, and that, perhaps, in those they thought places of security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this subject, much less run over all the particulars that would show what pains are used to corrupt children, and instil principles of vice into them: but I desire parents soberly to consider, what irregularity or vice there is which children are not visibly taught, and whether it be not their duty and wisdom to provide them other instructions.

## [CRAVING.]

38. It seems plain to me, that the principle of all virtue and excellency lies in a power of denying ourselves the satisfaction of our own desires, where reason does not authorise them. This power is to be got and improved by custom, made easy and familiar by an early practice. If therefore I might be heard, I would advise, that, contrary to the ordinary way, children should be used to submit their desires, and go without their longings, even from their very cradles. The first thing they should learn to know, should be, that they were not to have any thing because it pleased them,<sup>1</sup> but because it was thought fit for them.

<sup>1</sup> Because it pleased them] i.e. *merely* because it pleased them. Locke's counsels on the subject of craving sound somewhat harsh, and, if I may venture to say so, betray no little ignorance of infantile training. It is natural for a child to ask for what he wants; he knows nothing about the fitness for him of the objects which he desires, beyond their power of affording him immediate pleasure, and has to be educated through the refusal, as well as through the granting of his requests. Indeed, it is in this way that he first learns what is fit and what is not fit for him. He infers that what is denied him by a loving parent must be unfit for him, or else it would not be denied; and

If things suitable to their wants were supplied to them, so that they were never suffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it, would never, with bawling and peevishness, contend for mastery, nor be half so uneasy to themselves and others as they are, because from the first beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never suffered to obtain their desire by the impatience they expressed for it, they would no more cry for other things than they do for the moon.

39. I say not this, as if children were not to be indulged in any thing, or that I expected they should in hanging-sleeves<sup>1</sup> have the reason and conduct of counsellors. I consider them as children, who must be tenderly used, who must play, and have play-things. That which I mean, is, that whenever they craved what was not fit for them to have or do, they should not be permitted it, because they were little and desired it : nay, whatever they were importunate for, they should be sure, for that very reason, to be denied.<sup>2</sup> I have seen children at a table, who, what-

he soon learns to submit readily and cheerfully to the denials, which parental love and wisdom are sometimes compelled to give. Locke's ideal baby, who has learnt to submit his desires and go without his longings even from the cradle, through an early discovery of the uselessness of expressing his desires and longings, might be a very 'good' baby, in the sense of being a baby who gave nobody much trouble, but I suspect he would lead a joyless existence, in which real needs would be suppressed as well as fanciful ones. Such a mode of bringing up a child would afford little room for the development of filial affection and gratitude, for the parents' love would be shown, not in granting requests, but in anticipating them, and therefore would not attract the child's attention ; it would deprive the parent of invaluable opportunities for appealing to the child's dawning reason ; and, after all, the suppression of desire, to which it would accustom the child, would not be the result of rational self-control, but of his experience of the utter uselessness, or even danger, of giving expression to his feelings. (See Introduction, p. 40.

<sup>1</sup> **Hanging-sleeves]** Strips of the same stuff as the gown hanging down the back from the shoulders.

<sup>2</sup> **For that very reason to be denied]** Mr. Molyneux, to whom.

ever was there, never asked for anything, but contentedly took what was given them : and at another

Locke had submitted his essay for criticism, takes reasonable exception to the matter of these paragraphs. He says : 'I think you propose nothing in your whole book but what is very reasonable and very practicable, except only in one particular which seems to bear hard on the tender spirits of children and the affections of parents. 'Tis where you advise *that a child should never be suffered to have what he craves, or so much as speaks for, much less if he cries for it.* I acknowledge what you say in explaining this rule (§ 101) in relation to natural wants, especially that of hunger, may be well enough allowed ; but in § 102, where you come to apply it to wants of fancy and affectation, you seem too strict and severe. You say, indeed, this will teach them to stifle their desires, and to practise modesty and temperance ; but for teaching these virtues I conceive we shall have occasions enough in relation to their hurtful desires, without abridging them so wholly in matters indifferent and innocent, that tend only to divert and please their busy spirits. You allow, indeed, that *'twould be inhumanity to deny them those things one perceives would delight them ;* if so, I see no reason why, in a modest way, and with a submission to the wills of their superiors, they may not be allowed to declare what will delight them. No, say you ; but in all wants of fancy and affectation they should never, if once declared, be hearkened to or complied with. This I can never agree to, it being to deny that liberty between a child and its parents, as we desire, and have granted us, between man and his Creator. And, as in this case, man is allowed to declare his wants, and with submission to recommend his requests to God ; so I think children may be allowed by their parents and governors. And as between the creature and the Creator all manner of repining upon denial or disappointment is forbidden ; so in the case of children all frowardness or discontent upon a refusal is severely to be reprimanded. But thus far I agree with you in the whole, that whether it be in wants natural or fanciful that they express their desires in a froward humour-some manner, there they should be surely denied them. A further reason for my allowing children a liberty of expressing their innocent desires, is, that the contrary is impracticable ; and you must have the children almost moped for want of diversion and recreation, or else you must have those about them study nothing all day but how to find employment for them ; and how this would rack the invention of any man alive, I leave you to judge. And besides, were it an easy task for any adult person to study the fancy, the unaccountable fancy, and diversion of children, the whole year round, yet it would not prove delightful to a child, being not his own choice. But this you'll say, is what you have imprinted on them, that they are not to choose for themselves ; but why not, in harmless things, and plays or sports, I see no reason. In all things of moment let them live by the conduct of others wiser than themselves.' (Letter, Aug. 12, 1693.)

Locke replies ; ' If you please to look upon the place and observe my



place, I have seen others cry for every thing they saw ; must be served out of every dish, and that first too. What made this vast difference but this, that one was accustomed to have what they called or cried for, the other to go without it ? The younger they are, the less I think are their unruly and disorderly appetites to be complied with ; and the less reason they have of their own, the more are they to be under the absolute power and restraint of those in whose hands they are. From which I confess it will follow, that none but discreet people should be about them. If the world commonly does otherwise, I cannot help that. I am saying what I think should be ; which if it were already in fashion, I should not need to trouble the world with a discourse on this subject. But yet I doubt not, but when it is considered, there will be others of opinion with me, that the sooner this way is begun with children, the easier it will be for them, and their governors too ; and that this ought to be observed as an inviolable maxim, that whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not

drift, you will find that they [children] should not be indulged or complied with, in anything their conceits have made a want to them or necessary to be supplied.' He is far from thinking that children should do nothing but by prescription, and is so much for recreation that he would, as much as possible, have everything they do be made a recreation. What is not to be permitted them is the 'letting loose their desires in importunities for what they fancy.' My readers will agree with me, I believe, in thinking that the father has the better of the philosopher in this discussion.

The requests of young children that it is not expedient to grant are best dealt with by diverting the attention. 'It is not enough,' says Saltzmann, 'to refuse their impetuous demands, we should know *how* to refuse them. Simply to take away what they may have snatched up, simply to refuse what they ask, excites bitterness, and may easily sow the seeds of resentment; as the child does not yet understand the motive of the refusal. In such cases the most sensible course is to endeavour to divert his fancy from the coveted object to something else. If he wants a knife show him a picture ; and when you wish to rescue a bird from his hands show him a lap-dog. The pleasure he takes in the latter will drive the former from his mind.'

to obtain by crying or importunity, unless one has a mind to teach them to be impatient and troublesome, by rewarding them for it when they are so.

40. Those therefore that intend ever to govern their children, should begin it whilst they are very little, and look that they perfectly comply with the will of their parents. Would you have your son obedient to you when past a child, be sure then to establish the authority of a father as soon as he is capable of submission, and can understand in whose power he is. If you would have him stand in awe of you, imprint it in his infancy; and as he approaches more to a man, admit him nearer to your familiarity; so shall you have him your obedient subject (as is fit) whilst he is a child, and your affectionate friend when he is a man.<sup>1</sup> For methinks they mightily misplace the treatment due to their children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but severe to them, and keep them at a distance, when they are grown up: for liberty and indulgence can do no good to children; their want of judgment makes them stand in need of restraint and discipline; and on the contrary, imperiousness and severity is but an ill way of treating men, who have reason of their own to guide them, unless you have a mind to make your children, when grown up, weary of you, and secretly to say within themselves, When will you die, father?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord King, in his *Life of Locke*, informs us, that the conduct here recommended to parents was that of the philosopher's own father, who, as soon as years and steadiness of temper had fitted him for the honour, admitted his son to his friendship, and ever after lived with him on terms of the greatest familiarity.

<sup>2</sup> *When will you die, father!* Cf. Montaigne, ii. 8: 'A true and regular affection ought to spring and increase with the knowledge they give of themselves, and then, if they are worthy of it, the natural propension walking hand in hand with reason, to cherish them with a truly paternal love; and to judge and discern also if they be otherwise, still rendering ourselves to reason, notwithstanding the inclination of nature. It goes through sometimes quite otherwise, and most commonly we find

41. I imagine every one will judge it reasonable, that their children, when little, should look upon their parents as their lords, their absolute governors, and as such stand in awe of them : and that when they come to riper years, they should look on them as their best, as their only sure friends, and as such love and reverence them. The way I have mentioned, if I mistake not, is the only one to obtain this. We must look upon our children, when grown up, to be like ourselves, with the same passions, the same desires. We would be thought rational creatures, and have our freedom ; we love not to be uneasy under constant rebukes and brow-beatings, nor can we bear severe humours, and great distance in those we converse with. Whoever has such treatment when he is a man, will look out other company, other friends, other conversation ;<sup>1</sup> with whom he can be at ease. If therefore a strict hand be kept over children from the beginning, they will in that age be tractable, and quietly submit to it, as never having known any other : and if, as they grow up to the use of reason, the rigour of government be, as they deserve it, gently relaxed, the father's brow more smoothed to them, and the distance by degrees abated, his former restraints will increase their love, when they find it was only a kindness to them, and a care to make them capable to deserve the favour of their parents, and the esteem of every body else.

ourselves more taken with the running up and down, the play, and puerile simplicity of our children, than we do afterwards with their most completed actions, as if we had loved them for our sport, like monkeys and not as men. And some there are, who are very liberal in buying them balls to play withal, who are very close-handed for the least necessary expense when they come to age. Nay, to that degree, that it looks as if the jealousy of seeing them appear in, and enjoy the world, when we are about to leave it, rendered us more niggardly and stingy towards them. It vexes us that they tread upon our heels, as if to solicit us to go out.'

<sup>1</sup> Other conversation] i.e. other associates with whom he will hold converse.

42. Thus much for the settling your authority over your children in general. Fear and awe ought to give you the first power over their minds, and love and friendship in riper years to hold it : for the time must come, when they will be past the rod and correction ; and then if the love of you make them not obedient and dutiful, if the love of virtue and reputation keep them not in laudable courses, I ask, what hold will you have upon them to turn them to it? Indeed, fear of having a scanty portion, if they displease you, may make them slaves to your estate, but they will be nevertheless ill and wicked in private : and that restraint will not last always. Every man must some time or other be trusted to himself and his own conduct ; and he that is a good, a virtuous, and able man, must be made so within.<sup>1</sup> And therefore what he is to receive from education, what is to sway and influence his life, must be something put into him betimes ; habits woven into the very principles of his nature, and not a counterfeit carriage, and dissembled outside, put on by fear, only to avoid the present anger of a father, who perhaps may disinherit<sup>2</sup> him.

<sup>1</sup> **Within]** This is an all-important principle for parents and teachers to remember. A severe system of discipline may secure external propriety of conduct, but the propriety is likely to disappear with the discipline. Our aim should be not to tide over present difficulties, and cover our children or pupils with a thin veneer of good conduct which will just last through childhood, but to instil principles into them, and form habits in them, which will continue to exert their good influence in after-life. To obtain this result we must work from *within* and from *without*. We must begin with the heart.

<sup>2</sup> **Disinherit]** 'A father is very miserable that has no other hold of his children's affection than the need they have of his assistance, if that can be called affection ; he must render himself worthy to be respected by his virtue and wisdom, and beloved by his bounty and the sweetness of his manners. Even the very ashes of a rich matter have their value ; and we are wont to have the bones and relics of worthy men in regard and reverence. No old age can be so ruinous and offensive in a man who has passed his life in honour, but it must be venerable, especially to his children ; *the soul of which* he must have trained up to their duty by reason, not by necessity, and the need they have of him, not by roughness and force.' (Montaigne, ii. 8.)

## [SECTION III. §§ 43-51.]

## [ON PUNISHMENTS.]

43. This being laid down in general, as the course which ought to be taken, it is fit we now come to consider the parts of the discipline to be used, a little more particularly. I have spoken so much of carrying a strict hand over children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough, what is due to their tender age and constitutions. But that opinion will vanish, when you have heard me a little farther: for I am very apt to think, that great severity of punishment does but very little good, nay, great harm, in education; and I believe it will be found that, *cæteris paribus*, those children, who have been most chastised, seldom make the best men. All that I have hitherto contended for, is, that whatsoever rigour is necessary, it is more to be used the younger the children are; and having, by a due application wrought its effect, it is to be relaxed, and changed into a milder sort of government.

44. A compliance and suppleness of their wills being by a steady hand introduced by parents, before children have memories to retain the beginnings of it will seem natural to them, and work afterwards in them, as if it were so, preventing all occasions of struggling or repining. The only care is, that it be begun early, and inflexibly kept to, till awe and respect be grown familiar, and there appears not the least reluctance in the submission and ready obedience of their minds. When this reverence is once thus established, (which it must be early, or else it will cost pains and blows to recover it, and the more

the longer it is deferred,) it is by it, mixed still<sup>1</sup> with as much indulgence as they make not an ill use of, and not by beating, chiding, or other servile punishments, they are for the future to be governed as they grow up to more understanding.

45. That this is so, will be easily allowed, when it is but considered, what is to be aimed at in an ingenuous education, and upon what it turns. 1. He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the importunity of present pleasure or pain, for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger of never being good for any thing. This temper, therefore, so contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes ; and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happiness, is to be wrought into the mind as early as may be, even from the first dawning of any knowledge or apprehension in children, and so to be confirmed in them, by all the care and ways imaginable, by those who have the oversight of their education.

46. 2. On the other side, if the mind be curbed, and humbled too much in children ; if their spirits be abased and broken much, by too strict a hand over them, they lose all their vigour and industry, and are in a worse state than the former. For extravagant young fellows, that have liveliness and spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make able and great men : but dejected minds, timorous and tame, and low spirits, are hardly ever to be raised, and very seldom attain to anything. To avoid the danger that is on either hand, is the great art ; and he that has found a way how to keep up a child's spirit easy, active, and free, and yet at the same time to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneasy to him ; he, I say, that

<sup>1</sup> Still] i.e. always.

knows how to reconcile these seeming contradictions has, in my opinion, got the true secret of education.<sup>1</sup>

47. The usual, lazy,<sup>2</sup> and short way by chastisement, and the rod, which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in education, because it tends to both those mischiefs,<sup>3</sup> which, as we

<sup>1</sup> **The true secret]** It is satisfactory to know that in large numbers of our schools this secret has been found. Without corporal punishment or terrorism of any kind, by simply conforming to natural laws and appealing to legitimate motives, children may be brought to control their natural inclinations without any loss of the vivacity and buoyancy which properly belong to childhood. Do not gratuitously encroach on a child's liberty, make him feel that you impose no restriction upon him but what is intended to promote his welfare, call into play every reasonable motive that can support duty in those cases where duty is irksome, impose no burden upon him that he is too young or too weak to bear, afford opportunities for him to let off in innocent amusement his exuberant spirits, and you will find that he will obtain a mastery over himself and still remain 'easy, active, and free.'

<sup>2</sup> **Lazy]** Teachers often have recourse to the rod because they are too lazy to remove occasions of offence, and to employ moral correctives, which, however effective in the long run, are often slow in operation. A great deal of corporal punishment is owing to the technical incapacity of teachers, who often do not know either how to teach or how to maintain order. Locke does not condemn corporal punishment in all cases. It will be seen in § 78 that he approves of its use in cases of insubordination. In § 87 he recommends it even in cases of persistent want of application. The objection to corporal punishment, that it is corporal and not rational, is a superficial one, and would lie equally against the automatic punishments by which nature corrects the violations of physical laws.\* If we could attach to wrongdoing physical consequences with the same unerring certainty and proportion as are observed by nature, I can see no reason why corporal punishment should not be employed. My own objection to corporal punishment, as usually administered, is its arbitrary character and its exclusion of other and more powerful correctives. It is a clumsy and inefficacious way of reaching the end we have in view.

<sup>3</sup> **Both these mischiefs]** viz., the corroboration of a child's love of ease and dread of pain, and the breaking of his spirits.

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\* 'Nous ne donnons plus le soufflet à nos enfants, mais ils vont le chercher ailleurs, et la lourde main de l'expérience l'applique plus rudement que le ferait la nôtre.' (G. Sand, *Lucrezia Floriani*.)

have shown, are the Scylla and Charybdis, which on the one hand or the other ruin all that miscarry.

48. 1. This kind of punishment contributes not at all to the mastery of our natural propensity to indulge corporal and present pleasure, and to avoid pain at any rate,<sup>1</sup> but rather encourages it, and thereby strengthens that in us, which is the root from whence spring all vicious actions, and the irregularities of life. For what other motive, but of sensual pleasure and pain, does a child act by, who drudges at his book against his inclination, or abstains from eating unwholesome fruit, that he takes pleasure in, only out of fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater corporal pleasure, or avoids the greater corporal pain. And what is it, to govern his actions, and direct his conduct by such motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that principle in him, which it is our business to root out and destroy? And, therefore, I cannot think any correction useful to a child, where the shame of suffering<sup>2</sup> for having done amiss, does not work more upon him than the pain.

<sup>1</sup> **At any rate]** i.e. at any cost, 'à quelque prix que ce soit.' (Coste's translation.)

<sup>2</sup> **The shame]** Not the mere shame which attaches to disgrace (for that is as selfish a feeling as the dread of physical suffering), but the shame arising from the consciousness of having done amiss. Whatever form of punishment the teacher has recourse to, the offender's mind should be directed rather to the moral and religious aspects of his offence than to the penal consequences flowing from it. The personal consequences of wrong-doing do, indeed, sometimes help us to understand the nature of the offence, but to dwell exclusively upon them is to base right and wrong upon mere calculation. When this is done it ought not to be surprising that a child will sometimes deliberately decide on doing what is wrong, having, after a careful balancing of consequences, come to the conclusion that the pleasure of the offence would be greater than the pain of the punishment. The motives to right conduct that seem most desirable to cultivate in children are those which spring from the love and goodness and wisdom of God, and from the reflection of those qualities in parents and teachers. Even self-respect is a poor bulwark against wrong-doing, unless it spring from a lofty conception of the divinely ordered dignity and destiny of man.



49. 2. This sort of correction naturally breeds an aversion to that which it is the tutor's business to create a liking to. How obvious is it to observe, that children come to hate things which were at first acceptable to them, when they find themselves whipped, and chid, and teased about them? And it is not to be wondered at in them, when grown men would not be able to be reconciled to any thing by such ways. Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent recreation, in itself indifferent to him, if he should with blows or ill language be haled to it, when he had no mind ; or be constantly so treated, for some circumstances in his application to it? This is natural to be so. Offensive circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are joined with: and the very sight of a cup, wherein any one uses to take nauseous physic, turns his stomach, so that nothing will relish well out of it, though the cup be never so clean and well-shaped, and of the richest materials.

50. 3. Such a sort of slavish discipline makes a slavish temper. The child submits, and dissembles<sup>1</sup> obedience, whilst the fear of the rod hangs over him ; but when that is removed, and by being out of sight, he can promise himself impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural inclination ; which by this way is not at all altered, but, on the contrary, heightened and increased in him ; and after such restraint, breaks out usually with the more violence ; or,

51. 4. If severity carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a cure upon the present unruly distemper, it is often by bringing in the room of it a worse and more dangerous disease, by breaking the mind ; and then, in the place of a disorderly young fellow, you have a low-spirited moped creature,

<sup>1</sup> **Dissembles]** Rather simulates. To dissemble is to conceal what is ; to simulate is to affect what is not.

who, however with his unnatural sobriety he may please silly people, who commend tame unactive children, because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble ; yet at last, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his friends, as he will be all his life an useless thing to himself and others.<sup>1</sup>

## [SECTION IV. §§ 52-63.]

## [ON REWARDS.]

52. Beating them, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal punishments, are not the discipline fit to be used in the education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenious men ; and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only in great occasions, and cases of extremity. On the other side, to flatter children by rewards of things that are pleasant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his son apples, or sugar plums, or what else of this

<sup>1</sup> 'I condemn all violence,' said Montaigne, 'in the education of a tender soul, that is designed for honour and liberty. There is I know not what of servile in rigour and restraint ; and I am of opinion, that what is not done by reason, prudence and address, is never to be effected by force. I myself was brought up after that manner ; and they tell me, that, in all my first age, I never felt the rod but twice, and then very easily. I have practised the same method with my children, who, all died at nurse, except Leonor my only daughter, who arrived to the age of six years and upward, without other correction for her childish faults (her mother's indulgence easily concurring) than words only, and those very gentle. . . . I have never observed other effects of whipping, unless to render them more cowardly, or more wilful and untractable. Do we desire to be beloved of our children ? Will we re-  
 They from them all occasion of wishing our death ? (though no known of so horrid a wish can either be just or excusable ; *nullum in suam rationem habet*) let us reasonably accommodate their lives with wisdom in our power.' (*Essais*, lib. ii. ch. 8.) In another place he says : 'Without art, without books, without grammar or rules, without spees or tears, I learned Latin as well as my teacher understood it.' (*Essais*, lib. i. ch. 25.)

kind he is most delighted with, to make him learn his book, does but authorise his love of pleasure, and cocker up<sup>1</sup> that dangerous propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it, whilst you compound for the check you give his inclination in one place, by the satisfaction you propose to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous man, it is fit he should learn to cross his appetite, and deny his inclinations to riches, finery, or pleasing his palate, &c., whenever his reason advises the contrary, and his duty requires it. But when you draw him to do anything that is fit by the offer of money, or reward the pains of learning his book by the pleasure of a luscious morsel; when you promise him a lace-cravat<sup>2</sup> or a fine new suit, upon performance of some of his little tasks; what do you by proposing these as rewards, but allow them to be the good things he should aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them, and accustom him to place his happiness in them? Thus people, to prevail with children to be industrious about their grammar, dancing, or some other such matter, of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their lives, by misapplied rewards and punishments, sacrifice their virtue, invert the order of their education, and teach them luxury, pride, or covetousness, &c., for in this way flattering those wrong inclinations which they should restrain and suppress, they lay the

<sup>1</sup> Cocker] See note 2, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Cravat] The editions of 1693, 1699, and 1714 all read *cravat*. When Locke wrote, the word was of recent introduction. Wedgwood says: 'Formerly written *crabat*, and spoken of by Skinner (writing in 1667) as a fashion lately introduced by travellers and soldiers. The fashion is said by Menage to have been brought in in 1636, and to have been named from the *Crabats* or *Crevats*, as the *Croatians* (and after them a kind of light cavalry) were then called. The French had a regiment 'de *Royal-Cravate*.'

foundations of those future vices which cannot be avoided, but by curbing our desires, and accustoming them early to submit to reason.

53. I say not this, that I would have children kept from the conveniences or pleasures of life; that are not injurious to their health or virtue. On the contrary, I would have their lives made as pleasant and as agreeable to them as may be, in a plentiful enjoyment of whatsoever might innocently delight them; provided it be with this caution, that they have those enjoyments, only as the consequences of the state of esteem and acceptance they are in with their parents and governors; but they should never be offered or bestowed on them, as the rewards of this or that particular performance, that they show an aversion to, or to which they would not have applied themselves without that temptation.

54. But if you take away the rod on one hand, and these little encouragements, which they are taken with,<sup>1</sup> on the other, how then (will you say) shall children be governed?<sup>2</sup> Remove hope and fear,

<sup>1</sup> Taken with] Captivated by.

<sup>2</sup> How then shall children be governed?] A good teacher will try to render all adventitious rewards and punishments, as far as possible, unnecessary. If he prescribe only such laws as are the conditions of the child's well-being, the observance of those laws will itself ultimately produce a pleasure that will encourage obedience, and their violation will itself entail a punishment that will tend to deter from disobedience. These results will, of course, be the sooner reached, the earlier the child is subjected to wise laws. Where the natural consequences of conduct suffice to keep a child from wrongdoing, we should only weaken their force by superadding to them artificial rewards. It cannot be sufficiently insisted on that children naturally love what teachers, in wrong ways, foolishly try to foster. They are born into the world with a love of activity and a love of knowledge, and, in short, with a love for everything that affords a suitable exercise for such faculties as they possess. Let the teacher wisely use these natural stimuli, and he will rarely have occasion to fall back on artificial rewards and punishments. The practical difficulty which teachers have to contend with arises from the fact that the whole education of a child is not in their hands, that natural instincts have,

and there is an end of all discipline. I grant that good and evil, reward and punishment, are the only motives to a rational creature: these are the spur and reins whereby all mankind are set on work, and guided, and therefore they are to be made use of to children, too. For I advise their parents and governors always to carry this in their minds, that children are to be treated as rational creatures.<sup>1</sup>

55. Rewards, I grant, and punishments must be proposed to children, if we intend to work upon them. The mistake, I imagine, is, that those that are generally made use of, are ill chosen. The pains and pleasures of the body are, I think, of ill consequence, when made the rewards and punishments whereby men would prevail on their children; for, as I said before, they serve but to increase and strengthen those inclinations, which it is our business to subdue and master. What principle of virtue do you lay in a child, if you will redeem his desires of one pleasure, by the proposal of another? This is but to enlarge his appetite, and instruct it to wander. If a child cries for an unwholesome and dangerous fruit, you

in many cases, been neglected in the earlier stages of life, and that the natural attractiveness of learning and culture has, consequently, not had a fair chance of asserting itself. In such cases artificial rewards and punishments may be judiciously employed until natural ones become sufficiently powerful to render them unnecessary.

<sup>1</sup> As rational creatures] To do this it is not always necessary to state specifically our reasons for our commands: if our administration be wise, it will, as a rule, commend itself; but the teacher should never content himself with blind, unreasoning obedience, if he can secure the obedience of rational assent. Some teachers seem to think it is beneath their dignity to give a reason for their commands, and take their stand upon the *sic volo, sic jubeo* of authority; but the obedience thus obtained is often not worth much, and the habit of paying unreasoning deference to authority and of yielding a mechanical submission to superior force is a mischievous one to foster.

What children specially need is help to see the good of good and the evil of evil, for good, as Hooker shows, moves not by being but by seeming, and if evil did not seem to offer some advantage it would have no attraction.

purchase his quiet by giving him a less hurtful sweetmeat. This perhaps may preserve his health, but spoils his mind, and sets that farther out of order. For here you only change the object, but flatter still his appetite, and allow that must be satisfied, wherein, as I have shown, lies the root of the mischief; and until you bring him to be able to bear a denial of that satisfaction, the child may at present be quiet and orderly, but the disease is not cured. By this way of proceeding, you foment and cherish in him that which is the spring from whence all the evil flows, which will be sure on the next occasion to break out again with more violence, give him stronger longings, and you more trouble.

56. The rewards and punishments, then, whereby we should keep children in order, are quite of another kind, and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the business, I think, is done, and the difficulty is over. Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into children a love of credit,<sup>1</sup> and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principle, which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. But it will be asked, How shall this be done? I confess it does not at first appearance want some difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to seek the ways (and practise them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great secret of education.

57. First, children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very sensible of praise and commendation. They

<sup>1</sup> A love of credit] This principle may be easily abused. A nobler motive than the selfish desire of credit is the satisfaction of doing our duty to God, our neighbours, and ourselves. But the motives we appeal to should be determined by the ability of children to respond to them. The lower motives that can be appreciated must be utilised till the higher are able to cast them out.

find a pleasure in being esteemed and valued, especially by their parents, and those whom they depend on. If therefore the father caress and commend them when they do well, show a cold and neglectful countenance to them upon doing ill, and this accompanied by a like carriage of the mother, and all others that are about them, it will in a little time make them sensible of the difference; and this, if constantly observed, I doubt not but will of itself work more than threats or blows, which lose their force when once grown common, and are of no use when shame does not attend them; and therefore are to be forborne, and never to be used, but in the case hereafter mentioned, when it is brought to extremity.

58. But secondly, to make the sense of esteem or disgrace sink the deeper, and be of the more weight, other agreeable or disagreeable things<sup>1</sup> should constantly accompany these different states; not as particular rewards and punishments of this or that particular action, but as necessarily belonging to, and constantly attending one, who by his carriage has brought himself into a state of disgrace or commendation. By which way of treating them, children may as much as possible be brought to conceive, that those that are commended, and in esteem for doing well, will necessarily be beloved and cherished by every body, and have all other good things as a consequence of it; and on the other side, when any one by mis-carriage falls into disesteem, and cares not to preserve his credit, he will unavoidably fall under neglect and contempt; and in that state, the want of whatever

<sup>1</sup> Other agreeable or disagreeable things] These indirect rewards and punishments are the more valuable, because they do not obscure the proper ends for which what is right should be done and what is wrong avoided. They have the further advantage of connecting rewards and punishments not so much with particular acts as with general conduct, a result which tends to foster the valuable habit of looking at the whole of our actions in the light of their remoter consequences.

might satisfy or delight him will follow. In this way the objects of their desires are made assisting to virtue, when a settled experience from the beginning teaches children that the things they delight in, belong to, and are to be enjoyed by those only who are in a state of reputation. If by these means you can come once to shame them out of their faults, (for besides that, I would willingly have no punishment,) and make them in love with the pleasure of being well thought of, you may turn them as you please, and they will be in love with all the ways of virtue.

59. The great difficulty here is, I imagine, from the folly and perverseness of servants,<sup>1</sup> who are hardly to be hindered from crossing herein the design of the father and mother. Children discountenanced by their parents for any fault, find usually a refuge and relief in the caresses of those foolish flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the parents endeavour to establish. When the father or mother looks sour on the child, every body else should put on the same coldness to him, and nobody give him countenance, until forgiveness<sup>2</sup> asked, and a reformation of his fault has set him right again, and restored him to his former credit. If this were constantly observed, I guess there would be little need of blows or chidings: their own ease and satisfaction would

<sup>1</sup> **Servants]** What Locke says of servants is equally true of parents. The design of the teacher is often thwarted by parental folly and perverseness.

<sup>2</sup> **Forgiveness]** 'In connection with children's begging for pardon, errors are unfortunately often committed. They are urged to crave forgiveness while scarcely able to stammer with sobbing and bodily excitement. Hence it is desirable not to insist too soon on their doing so, and never until we are satisfied that the necessary bodily repose and rational state of mind have been sufficiently developed in the child. By our words and bearing, however, we may facilitate this process in the young mind, just as in music we lead the soul of the hearer from one mood to another by means of certain intermediate touches. In any case it is better to dispense altogether with a formal act of submission of this sort than to make a mockery of it.' S.



quickly teach children to court commendation, and avoid doing that which they found every body condemned, and they were sure to suffer for, without being chid or beaten. This would teach them modesty and shame ; and they would quickly come to have a natural abhorrence for that which they found made them slighted and neglected by every body. But how this inconvenience from servants is to be remedied, I must leave to parents' care and consideration ; only I think it of great importance, and that they are very happy who can get discreet people about their children.

60. Frequent beating or chiding is therefore carefully to be avoided ; because this sort of correction never produces any good, farther than it serves to raise shame and abhorrence of the miscarriage that brought it on them : and if the greatest part of the trouble be not the sense that they have done amiss, and the apprehension that they have drawn on themselves the just displeasure of their best friends, the pain of whipping will work but an imperfect cure. It only patches up for the present, and skins it over, but reaches not to the bottom of the sore : ingenuous shame, and the apprehensions of displeasure, are the only true restraint. These alone ought to hold the reins, and keep the child in order ; but corporal punishments must necessarily lose that effect, and wear out the sense of shame, where they frequently return. Shame in children<sup>1</sup> has the same place that

<sup>1</sup> **Shame in children]** For this reason teachers should avoid punishments that inflict needless shame. The more powerful a motive the sense of shame is, the greater reason why it should not be abused. Children soon grow accustomed to disgrace, and thenceforward become exceedingly difficult to deal with. A child who has been rendered shameless by ill-advised treatment is not cured of his fault, but hardened in it, by constant disgrace ; and can only be reformed by the gradual re-establishment of his natural love of approbation, and of those constraints which spring out of love and gratitude.

modesty has in women, which cannot be kept, and often transgressed against. And as to the apprehension of displeasure in the parents, that will come to be very insignificant, if the marks of that displeasure quickly cease, and a few blows fully expiate. Parents should well consider what faults in their children are weighty enough to deserve the declaration of their anger ; but when their displeasure is once declared to a degree that carries any punishment with it, they ought not presently<sup>1</sup> to lay by the severity of their brows, but to restore their children to their former grace, with some difficulty, and delay a full reconciliation, until their conformity, and more than ordinary merit make good their amendment. If this be not so ordered, punishment will, by familiarity, become a mere thing of course, and lose all its influence ; offending, being chastised, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and necessary, as noon, night, and morning following one another.

61. Concerning reputation, I shall only remark this one thing more of it, that though it be not the true principle and measure of virtue, (for that is the knowledge of a man's duty, and the satisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the dictates of that light God has given him, with the hopes of acceptation and reward,) yet it is that which comes nearest to it : and being the testimony and applause that other people's reason, as it were by a common consent, gives to virtuous and well-ordered actions, it is the proper guide and encouragement of children, until they grow able to judge for themselves, and to find what is right by their own reason.

62. This consideration may direct parents how to manage themselves, in reproving and commending

<sup>1</sup> Presently] i.e. at once. See Note 1, p. 91. On the other hand we should not retain the severity of our brows too long, lest the erring child be thereby depressed or embittered.

their children. The rebukes and chiding, which their faults will sometimes make hardly to be avoided, should not only be in sober, grave, and unpassionate words, but also alone and in private : but the commendations children deserve, they should receive before others.<sup>1</sup> This doubles the reward, by spreading their praise ; but the backwardness parents show in divulging their faults, will make them set a greater value on their credit themselves, and teach them to be the more careful to preserve the good opinion of others, whilst they think they have it : but when being exposed to shame, by publishing their mis-carriages, they give it up for lost, that check upon them is taken off, and they will be the less careful to preserve others' good thoughts of them, the more they suspect that their reputation with them is already blemished.

63. But if a right course be taken with children, there will not be so much need of the application of the common rewards and punishments, as we imagine, and as the general practice has established. For all their innocent folly, playing, and childish actions, are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained, as far as they can consist with the respect due to those that are present ; and that with the greatest allowance. If these faults of their age, rather than of the children themselves, were, as they should be, left only to time and imitation, and riper years to cure, children would escape a great deal of misapplied and useless correction, which either fails to overpower the natural disposition of their childhood, and so by an ineffectual familiarity, makes correction in other necessary cases of less use ; or else if it be of force to restrain the

<sup>1</sup> **Before others]** Publicity increases the effects of praise and censure, but care should be taken that it does not foster vanity in the one case, and weaken the sense of shame in the other. Everything will depend on the character of the child and the manner in which both praise and blame are administered.

natural gaiety of that age, it serves only to spoil the temper both of body and mind. If the noise and bustle of their play prove at any time inconvenient, or unsuitable to the place or company they are in, (which can only be where their parents are,) a look or a word from the father or mother, if they have established the authority they should, will be enough either to remove or quiet them for that time. But this gamesome humour,<sup>1</sup> which is wisely adapted by nature to their age and temper, should rather be encouraged to keep up their spirits, and improve their strength and health, than curbed and restrained; and the chief art is to make all that they have to do, sport and play too.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Gamesome humour]** Happiness is the first condition of physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual development, and to secure it for children should be our effort at every stage in their education. Fortunately, the conditions of a wise education are, at the same time, the conditions of true happiness. Happiness, however, is more readily tested than wisdom, and its indications should be carefully watched. Permanent unhappiness in a child is a sure sign that there is something radically wrong in the conditions under which he lives. 'Adults,' says Isaac Taylor, 'look for *external* means of enjoyment, and seek happiness in the gratification of specific wishes or desires; but an infant, if only protected from positive suffering, is happy from the stock of its own resources, and by the perpetual gush of joyous emotions, having no determinate direction as they burst abroad. . . . The happiness of children is not a something to be procured and prepared for them like their daily food; but it is a something which they *already possess*, and with which we need not concern ourselves any further than to see that they are not despoiled of it.'

<sup>2</sup> **Sport and play too]** This is an interesting anticipation of Fröbel's Kindergarten, in which directed play is itself made an instrument of education. But it is not merely in the infant school that work may be combined with play, and play with work. In every stage of education the skilful teacher will seek means to mitigate the irksomeness, and increase the attraction, of learning. It is true that all the ingenuity in the world will not render some very important subjects amusing, but the driest of subjects may be relieved by an atmosphere of happiness, by the brightness and enthusiasm of the teacher, and by the occasional relaxation of magisterial gravity.

Locke does not mean to countenance that reprehensible method which attempts to dispense with all serious effort on the part of the child. He has in view the fact that all work, as soon as it is done

## [SECTION V. §§ 64-69.]

## [ON RULES.]

64. And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education; and that is, the charging of children's memories, upon all occasions, with rules and precepts, which they often do not understand, and constantly as soon forget as given. If it be some action you would have done, or done otherwise, whenever they forget, or do it awkwardly, make them do it over and over again,<sup>1</sup> until they are perfect; whereby you will

with pleasure and zest, becomes a pastime. A child knows no distinction between work and play. 'Play is to a child,' some one has remarked, 'the serious work of life.' From another point of view, work, so long as it satisfies natural instincts and is spontaneously performed, assumes the character of play.

On this subject a writer in the *Saturday Review* makes the following forcible remarks: 'Every child finds pleasure in exercising his faculties on right objects. By right method this spark may be fanned into a flame, and it is of the highest importance that this should be done early. There is no risk that the notion of play will be thus associated with school work, for from the outset work will have to be encountered that cannot be deemed too easy. Allure then by right method every child into paths of study, and do what you can to help him on over the ruggedness that he must encounter, but never fear that he will not meet ere long the drudgery that is to fit him for the battle of life. The more he learns, the more drudgery he will have to undergo. Climbing mountains must always be hard work, if you climb far enough and fast enough, and the same is true of the hill of knowledge. You have no need to put burdens on the back, nor to drive up the steepest ascents; there will be labour enough though the paths are zigzag, and the resting-places many.'

<sup>1</sup> **Over and over again**] *Repetitio mater studiorum* was one of the favourite maxims of the schools of the Jesuits. It is equally true that repetition is the mother of habits. It is not only the means whereby the memory is impressed; it is the indispensable condition of the acquisition of facility in doing anything. The faculties of both body and mind have to *grow to* their work. Moreover, if a child has already acquired a wrong way of doing a thing, he cannot abandon that wrong way at a moment's notice and at another's bidding. We are not absolute masters of memory, and time must be allowed for erasures as

get these two advantages : first, to see whether it be an action they can do, or is fit to be expected of them ; for sometimes children are bid to do things, which upon trial they are found not able to do, and had need be taught and exercised in, before they are required to do them. But it is much easier for a tutor to command than to teach. Secondly, another thing got by it will be this, that by repeating the same action, until it be grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory<sup>1</sup> or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age, and not of childhood, but will be natural in them. Thus bowing to a gentleman, when he salutes him, and looking in his face, when he speaks to him, is by constant use as natural to a well-bred man, as breathing ; it requires no thought, no reflection. Having this way cured in your child, any fault, it is cured for ever : and thus one by one you may weed them out all, and plant what habits you please.

65. I have seen parents so heap rules on their children, that it was impossible for the poor little ones to remember a tenth part of them, much less to observe them. However, they were either by words or blows corrected for the breach of those multiplied, and often very impertinent precepts. Whence it naturally followed, that the children minded not what was said to them, when it was evident to them that no attention they were capable of was sufficient to preserve them from transgression, and the rebukes which followed it.

for new records, for the weakening of old habits as for the formation of new ones. The important point for the teacher to remember is that, if he wishes to form a habit, he must secure a sufficient amount of repetition to render the habit easy and unconscious. Richter says : 'Like the fresco painter, the teacher lays colours on the wet plaster which ever fade away, and which he must ever renew until they remain and brightly shine.' (*Levana*, Frag. I. chap. ii. 7.)

<sup>1</sup> **Memory**] By 'memory,' Locke here means *conscious recollection*, as opposed to the automatic suggestions of habit. See § 66.

Let therefore your rules to your son be as few as possible, and rather fewer than more than seem absolutely necessary. For if you burden him with many rules, one of these two things must necessarily follow ; that either he must be very often punished, which will be of ill consequence, by making punishment too frequent and familiar : or else you must let the transgressions of some of your rules go unpunished, whereby they will of course grow contemptible, and your authority become cheap to him. Make but few laws, but see they be well observed when once made. Few years require but few laws, and as his age increases, when one rule is by practice well established, you may add another.

## [HABITS.]

66. But pray remember, children are not to be taught by rules which will be always slipping out of their memories. What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensable practice, as often as the occasion returns; and if it be possible, make occasions. This will beget habits in them, which being once established, operate of themselves easily and naturally, without the assistance of the memory. But here let me give two cautions. 1. The one is, that you keep them to the practice of what you would have grow into a habit in them, by kind words, and gentle admonitions, rather as minding them of what they forget, than by harsh rebukes and chiding, as if they were wilfully guilty.<sup>1</sup> 2. Another thing you are to take care of, is, not to endeavour to settle

<sup>1</sup> **As if they were wilfully guilty]** Many of the faults of children are the consequence of misapprehension, inadvertence, and ignorance. When any of these cases occurs, it is a manifest injustice to charge the offender with wilful misconduct. Not only so, the charge of wilfulness tends to weaken the influence exerted on a child by the belief that his teacher has confidence in his good intentions.

too many habits at once, lest by variety you confound them, and so perfect none. When constant custom has made any one thing easy and natural to them, and they practise it without reflection, you may then go on to another.

This method of teaching children by repeated practice, and the same action done over and over again, under the eye and direction of the tutor, till they have got the habit of doing it well, and not by relying on rules trusted to their memories, has so many advantages, which way soever we consider it, that I cannot but wonder (if ill customs could be wondered at in any thing) how it could possibly be so much neglected. I shall name one more that comes now in my way. By this method we shall see whether what is required of him be adapted to his capacity, and any way suited to the child's natural genius<sup>1</sup> and constitution: for that too must be considered in a right education. We must not hope wholly to change their original tempers, nor make the gay pensive and grave, nor the melancholy sportive, without spoiling them. God has stamped certain characters upon men's minds, which, like their shapes, may perhaps be a little mended, but can hardly be totally altered and transformed into the contrary.

He therefore that is about children should well study their natures and aptitudes, and see by often trials, what turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their native stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for. He should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by industry, and in-

<sup>1</sup> The child's natural genius] One of the advantages of home education and small schools is that greater cognisance can be taken of the peculiarities of individual children. A large school has to make provision for the mass; but even in our large schools there is greater provision now made than was formerly the case for taking advantage of the natural aptitudes of children.



corporated there by practice ; and whether it be worth while to endeavour it. For in many cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is, to make the best of what nature has given, to prevent the vices and faults to which such a constitution is most inclined, and give it all the advantages it is capable of. Every one's natural genius should be carried as far as it could ; but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but labour in vain ; and what is so plastered on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the ungracefulness of constraint and affectation.

Affectation is not, I confess, an early fault of childhood, or the product of untaught nature. It is of that sort of weeds which grow not in the wild uncultivated waste, but in garden plots, under the negligent hand, or unskilful care of a gardener. Management and instruction, and some sense of the necessity of breeding,<sup>1</sup> are requisite to make any one capable of affectation, which endeavours to correct natural defects, and has always the laudable aim of pleasing, though it always misses it ; and the more it labours to put on gracefulness, the farther it is from it. For this reason, it is the more carefully to be watched, because it is the proper<sup>2</sup> fault of education ; a perverted education indeed, but such as young people often fall into, either by their own mistake, or the ill conduct of those about them.

He that will examine wherein that gracefulness lies, which always pleases, will find it arises from that natural coherence, which appears between the thing done, and such a temper of mind as cannot but be approved of as suitable to the occasion. We cannot but be pleased with a humane, friendly, civil temper, wherever we meet with it. A mind free, and master

<sup>1</sup> **Breeding**] i.e. good-breeding, culture.

<sup>2</sup> **Proper**] i.e. peculiar, distinctive.

of itself and all its actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and insolent, not blemished with any great defect, is what every one is taken with. The actions which naturally flow from such a well-formed mind, please us also, as the genuine marks of it; and being as it were natural emanations from the spirit and disposition within, cannot but be easy and unconstrained. This seems to me to be that beauty which shines through some men's actions, sets off all that they do, and takes<sup>1</sup> all they come near; when by a constant practice, they have fashioned their carriage, and made all those little expressions of civility and respect, which nature or custom has established in conversation, so easy to themselves, that they seem not artificial or studied, but naturally to follow from a sweetness of mind, and a well-turned disposition.

On the other side, affectation is an awkward and forced imitation of what should be genuine and easy, wanting the beauty that accompanies what is natural; because there is always a disagreement between the outward action, and the mind within, one of these two ways: 1. Either when a man would outwardly put on a disposition of mind, which then he really has not, but endeavours by a forced carriage to make show of; yet so, that the constraint he is under discovers itself. And thus men affect sometimes to appear sad, merry, or kind, when in truth they are not so.

2. The other is when they do not endeavour to make show of dispositions of mind, which they have not, but to express those they have by a carriage not suited to them; and such in conversation are all constrained motions, actions, words, or looks, which, though designed to show either their respect or civility to the company, or their satisfaction and easiness in it, are not yet natural or genuine marks of the one or the other, but rather of some defect or

<sup>1</sup> Takes] i.e. captivates,

mistake within. Imitation of others, without discerning what is graceful in them, or what is peculiar to their characters, often makes a great part of this. But affectation of all kinds, whencesoever it proceeds, is always offensive : because we naturally hate whatever is counterfeit, and condemn those who have nothing better to recommend themselves by.

Plain and rough nature, left to itself, is much better than an artificial ungracefulness, and such studied ways of being ill-fashioned. The want of an accomplishment, or some defect in our behaviour, coming short of the utmost gracefulness, often escapes observation and censure. But affectation in any part of our carriage is lighting up a candle to our defects, and never fails to make us be taken notice of, either as wanting sense, or wanting sincerity. This governors ought the more diligently to look after, because, as I above observed, it is an acquired ugliness, owing to mistaken education, few being guilty of it, but those who pretend to breeding, and would not be thought ignorant of what is fashionable and becoming in conversation ; and, if I mistake not, it has often its rise from the lazy admonitions of those who give rules, and propose examples, without joining practice with their instructions, and making their pupils repeat the action in their sight, that they may correct what is indecent<sup>1</sup> or constrained in it, till it be perfected into an habitual and becoming easiness.

[SECTION VI. §§ 67-70.]

[ON BEHAVIOUR—MANNERS—DANCING.]

67. Manners, as they call it, about which children are so often perplexed, and have so many

<sup>1</sup> *Indecent* i.e. unbecoming.

goodly exhortations made them by their wise maids and governesses, I think, are rather to be learnt by example than rules; and then children, if kept out of ill company, will take a pride to behave themselves prettily, after the fashion of others, perceiving themselves esteemed and commended for it. But if by a little negligence in this part, the boy should not put off his hat, or make legs<sup>1</sup> very gracefully, a dancing-master will cure that defect, and wipe off all that plainness of nature, which the à-la-mode people call clownishness. And since nothing appears to me to give children so much becoming confidence and behaviour, and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their age, as dancing, I think they should be taught to dance as soon as they are capable of learning it. For though this consists only in outward gracefulness of motion, yet, I know not how, it gives children manly thoughts<sup>2</sup> and carriage, more than any thing. But otherwise I would not have little children much tormented about punctilios,<sup>3</sup> or niceties of breeding.

Never trouble yourself about those faults in them, which you know age will cure: and therefore want of well fashioned civility<sup>4</sup> in the carriage, whilst civility is not wanting in the mind, (for there you must take care to plant it early,) should be the parents' least

<sup>1</sup> **Make legs**] i.e. make bows. Cf.: 'You make a leg, and Bolingbroke says ay.' (*Richard II.*, iii. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> **Manly thoughts and carriage**] Locke does not mean that dancing gives real manliness, but that it gives manly assurance in social intercourse.

<sup>3</sup> **Punctilios**] i.e. petty points of etiquette.

<sup>4</sup> **Civility**] i.e. polish, refinement. 'A *civil* man now is one observant of slight external courtesies in the mutual intercourse between man and man; a *civil* man once was one who fulfilled all the duties and obligations flowing from his position as a *civis*, and his relations to the other members of the *civitas* to which he belonged, and "civility" the condition in which those were recognised and obliged.' (Archbishop Trench, *Select Glossary*.)

care, whilst they are young. If his tender mind be filled with a veneration for his parents and teachers, which consists in love and esteem, and a fear to offend them ; and with respect and goodwill<sup>1</sup> to all people ; that respect will of itself teach those ways of expressing it, which he observes most acceptable. Be sure to keep up in him the principles of good nature and kindness ; make them as habitual as you can, by credit and commendation, and the good things accompanying that state : and when they have taken root in his mind, and are settled there by a continued practice, fear not, the ornaments of conversation, and the outside of fashionable manners, will come in their due time ; if when they are removed out of their maid's care, they are put into the hands of a well-bred man to be their governor.

Whilst they are very young, any carelessness is to be borne with in children, that carries not with it the marks of pride or illnature ; but those, whenever they appear in any action, are to be corrected immediately by the ways above-mentioned. What I have said concerning manners, I would not have so understood, as if I meant that those who have the judgment to do it, should not gently fashion the motions and carriage of children, when they are very young. It would be of great advantage, if they had people about them from their being first able to go,<sup>2</sup> that had the skill, and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of, is, the wrong course that is usually taken in this matter. Children, who were never taught any such thing as behaviour, are often (especially when strangers are present) chid for

<sup>1</sup> **Goodwill**] Dr. Johnson defines 'politeness' as 'benevolence showing itself in little things.' There can be no true politeness where there is no genuine goodness of nature. At the same time children have to learn where and how their good nature may be exhibited.

<sup>2</sup> **To go**] i.e. to walk. See note 1, p. 98.

having some way or other failed in good manners, and have thereupon reproofs and precepts heaped upon them, concerning putting off their hats, or making of legs, &c. Though in this, those concerned pretend to correct the child, yet, in truth for the most part, it is but to cover their own shame, and they lay the blame on the poor little ones, sometimes passionately enough, to divert it from themselves, for fear the by-standers should impute to their want of care and skill the child's ill behaviour.<sup>1</sup>

For, as for the children themselves, they are never one jot bettered by such occasional lectures. They at other times should be shown what to do, and by reiterated actions be fashioned beforehand<sup>2</sup> into the practice of what is fit and becoming, and not told and talked to do upon the spot, of what they have never been accustomed or know how to do as they should. To hare<sup>3</sup> and rate them thus at every turn, is not to teach them, but to vex and torment them to no purpose. They should be let alone, rather than chid for a fault, which is none of theirs, nor is in their power to mend for speaking to. And it were much better their natural childish negligence or plainness

<sup>1</sup> 'This is a just reproof of the practice of too many parents, who choose for the correction of their children precisely those moments in which few provocations should tempt them to put forward their authority. Besides, as Locke properly observes, precepts given thus occasionally and in ill-temper are seldom of use.' *St. J.*

<sup>2</sup> *Beforehand*] Teachers would do well to remember this when looking forward to the visits of inspectors and others. What they would have their pupils do on show-days, they should insist on all the rest of the year. That children may be easy and self-possessed on great occasions, they should be habituated to what, at such times, will be expected from them. It is unreasonable to expect them to throw off their daily habits at a moment's notice, however much they may wish to do so in order to please their teacher.

<sup>3</sup> *To hare*] i.e. to worry, terrify. *Fr. harer un chien*, to set on a dog. Cf. 'harass' and 'harry.'

'I' the name of men or beasts, what do you do?

*Hare* the poor fellow out of his five wits

And seven senses.' B. JONSON, *Tale of a Tub*, ii. 2.

should be left to the care of riper years, than that they should frequently have rebukes misplaced upon them, which neither do, nor can, give them graceful motions. If their minds are well-disposed, and principled with inward civility, a great part of the roughness, which sticks to the outside for want of better teaching, time and observation will rub off, as they grow up, if they are bred in good company; but if in ill, all the rules in the world, all the correction imaginable, will not be able to polish them. For you must take this for a certain truth, that let them have what instructions you will, and ever so learned lectures of breeding daily inculcated into them, that which will most influence their carriage, will be the company they converse<sup>1</sup> with, and the fashion of those about them. Children (nay, and men too) do most by example. We are all a sort of chameleons, that still<sup>2</sup> take a tincture from things near us; nor is it to be wondered at in children, who better understand what they see, than what they hear,

## [COMPANY.]

68. I mentioned above, one great mischief that came by servants to children, when by their flatteries they take off the edge and force of the parents' rebukes, and so lessen their authority: and here is another great inconvenience which children receive from the ill examples which they meet with amongst the meaner servants.

They are wholly, if possible, to be kept from such conversation; for the contagion of these ill precedents, both in civility and virtue, horribly infects

<sup>1</sup> *Converse with*] i.e. associate, hold intercourse with. Clarendon says of the Scotch that they were a people 'which *conversed* wholly amongst themselves' (iii. 274). So 'conversation,' in §§ 68 and 69, means intercourse, society.

<sup>2</sup> *Still*] i.e. constantly, always.

children, as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn from unbred or debauched servants such language, untowardly tricks, and vices, as otherwise they possibly would be ignorant of all their lives.

69. It is a hard matter wholly to prevent this mischief. You will have very good luck, if you never have a clownish or vicious servant, and if from them your children never get any infection : but yet as much must be done towards it as can be, and the children kept as much as may be<sup>1</sup> in the company of their parents, and those to whose care they are committed. To this purpose, their being in their presence should be made easy to them : they should be allowed the liberties and freedoms suitable to their ages, and not be held under unnecessary restraints, when in their parents' or governor's sight. If it be a prison to them, it is no wonder they should not like it. They must not be hindered from being children, or from playing, or doing as children, but from doing ill ; all other liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the company of their parents, they should receive all their good things there, and from their hands. The servants should be hindered from making court to them, by giving them strong drink, wine, fruit, play-things, and other such

<sup>1</sup> How much the Romans thought the education of their children a business that properly belonged to the parents themselves, see in Suetonius, *August.* § 64 ; Plutarch in *Vita Catonis Censoris* ; Diodorus Siculus, l. ii. cap. 3. (Locke.)

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius says of Augustus : " He himself chiefly taught his grandchildren reading, writing, swimming, and other rudimentary matters, and he made a special point of their imitating his handwriting." Plutarch, in his *Life of Marcus Portius Cato Censorius*, tells us that Cato himself taught his son to read as well as to hurl the dart, to fence, ride, box, and swim across the eddying and swift currents of the Tiber ; that he wrote down for him stories of the great deeds and virtues of their forefathers, and in his presence abstained from all unseemly expressions as carefully as if a vestal virgin were by.' S.

Diodorus says nothing worth mentioning in the reference here given.



matters, which may make them in love with their conversation.

[SECTION VII. §§ 70-71.]

[ON THE ADVANTAGES OF A HOME EDUCATION.]

70. Having named company, I am almost ready to throw away my pen, and trouble you no farther on this subject: for since that does more than all precepts, rules, and instructions, methinks it is almost wholly in vain to make a long discourse of other things, and to talk of that almost to no purpose. For you will be ready to say, What shall I do with my son? If I keep him always at home, he will be in danger to be my young master; and if I send him abroad,<sup>1</sup> how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of rudeness and vice, which is everywhere so in fashion? In my house he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world; wanting there change of company, and being used constantly to the same faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a sheepish or conceited creature.

I confess, both sides have their inconveniences. Being abroad, it is true, will make him bolder, and better able to bustle and shift among boys of his own age; and the emulation of schoolfellows often puts life and industry into young lads. But till you can find a school, wherein it is possible for the master to look after the manners of his scholars, and can show as great effects of his care of forming their minds to virtue,<sup>2</sup> and their carriage to good breeding, as of

<sup>1</sup> *Abroad*] From home, not to foreign countries. Cf.: 'Know for a certain, on the day thou goest out, and walkest *abroad* any whither, that thou shalt surely die' (1 Kings ii. 42). '*Abroad* the sword bereaveth; at home there is as death' (Lam. i. 20).

<sup>2</sup> *Virtue*] Cf. the old Latin saying: 'Qui proficit in literis et deficit in moribus plus deficit quam proficit.' (He who is proficient in learning and deficient in morals, is more deficient than proficient.)

forming their tongues to the learned languages, you must confess, that you have a strange value for words, when preferring the languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to that which made them such brave men, you think it worth while to hazard your son's innocence and virtue for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that boldness and spirit which lads get amongst their play-fellows at school, it has ordinarily such a mixture of rudeness and ill-turned confidence,<sup>1</sup> that those misbecoming and disingenuous ways of shifting in the world must be unlearned, and all the tincture washed out again, to make way for better principles, and such manners as make a truly worthy man. He that considers how diametrically opposite the skill of living well, and managing, as a man should do, his affairs in the world, is to that malpertness,<sup>2</sup> tricking, or violence learned amongst school-boys, will think the faults of a more private education infinitely to be preferred to such improvements, and will take care to preserve his child's innocence and modesty at home, as being nearer of kin, and more in the way of those qualities which make a useful and able man. Nor does any one find, or so much as suspect, that that retirement and bashfulness, which their daughters are brought up in, makes them less knowing, or less able women. Conversation, when they come into the world, soon gives them a becoming assurance; and whatsoever, beyond that, there is of rough and boisterous, may in men be very well spared too; for courage and

<sup>1</sup> **Ill-turned confidence]** i.e. unbecoming, misplaced confidence.

<sup>2</sup> **Malpertness]** i.e. sauciness, over-boldness of speech. The adjective is 'malapert,' which has been cut down in modern English to 'pert.' From It. *aperto*, open, confident, bold. O. Fr. *appert*, ready, nimble; *mal-appert*, over-ready.

'You see your wish fulfilled in either child,  
The pert made perter, and the tame made wild.'

COWPER, *Tirocinium*, ii. 344.

steadiness, as I take it, lie not in roughness and ill-breeding.

Virtue is harder to be got, than a knowledge of the world; and if lost in a young man, is seldom recovered. Sheepishness and ignorance of the world, the faults imputed to a private education, are neither the necessary consequences of being bred at home, nor if they were, are they incurable evils. Vice is the more stubborn, as well as the more dangerous evil of the two; and therefore, in the first place, to be fenced against. If that sheepish softness, which often enervates those who are bred like fondlings at home, be carefully to be avoided, it is principally so for virtue's sake; for fear lest such a yielding temper should be too susceptible of vicious impressions, and expose the novice too easily to be corrupted. A young man, before he leaves the shelter of his father's house, and the guard of a tutor, should be fortified with resolution, and made acquainted with men, to secure his virtues, lest he should be let into some ruinous course, or fatal precipice, before he is sufficiently acquainted with the dangers of conversation,<sup>1</sup> and has steadiness enough not to yield to every temptation. Were it not for this, a young man's bashfulness and ignorance in the world, would not so much need an early care. Conversation would cure it in a great measure; or if that will not do it early enough, it is only a stronger reason for a good tutor at home. For if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and assurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his virtue, when he goes into the world under his own conduct.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Conversation]** i.e. society, intercourse with the world.

<sup>2</sup> **His own conduct]** 'One of the supposed advantages of a public school is the greater knowledge of the world which a boy is considered to derive from those situations; but if, by a knowledge of the world, is meant a knowledge of the forms and manners which are found to be most pleasing and useful in the world, a boy from a public school is

It is preposterous therefore to sacrifice his innocence to the attaining of confidence, and some little skill of bustling for himself among others, by his conversation with ill-bred and vicious boys; when the chief use of that sturdiness, and standing upon his own legs, is only for the preservation of his virtue. For if confidence or cunning come once to mix with vice, and support his miscarriages, he is only the surer lost; and you must undo again, and strip him of that he has got from his companions, or give him up to ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught assurance by conversation with men, when they are brought into it; and that is time enough. Modesty and submission, till then, better fits them for instruction; and therefore there needs not any great care to stock them with confidence beforehand. That which requires most time, pains, and assiduity, is, to work into them the principles and practice of virtue and good breeding. *NK* This is the seasoning<sup>1</sup> they should be prepared with, so as not easy to be got out again. This they had

almost always extremely deficient in these particulars; and his sister, who has remained at home at the apron-strings of her mother, is very much his superior in the science of manners. It is probably true that a boy at a public school has made more observations on human character, because he has had more opportunities of observing than have been enjoyed by young persons educated either at home or at private schools; but this little advance gained at a public school is so soon overtaken at college or in the world, that to have made it is of the least possible consequence, and utterly undeserving of any risk incurred in the acquisition. Is it any injury to a man of thirty or thirty-five years of age—to a learned serjeant or venerable dean—that at eighteen they did not know so much of the world as some other boys of the same standing? They have probably escaped the arrogant character so often attendant upon this trifling superiority, nor is there much chance that they have ever fallen into the common and youthful error of mistaking a premature initiation into vice for a knowledge of the ways of mankind; and in addition to these salutary exemptions, a winter in London brings it all to a level, and offers to every novice the advantages which are supposed to be derived from this precocity of confidence and polish.' (S. Smith, *Works*, p. 183.)

<sup>1</sup> **Seasoning**] i.e. preparation.

need to be well provided with; for conversation, when they come into the world, will add to their knowledge and assurance, but be too apt to take from their virtue; which therefore they ought to be plentifully stored with, and have that tincture sunk deep into them.

How they should be fitted for conversation, and entered into the world, when they are ripe for it, we shall consider in another place. But how any one's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys, and there learning to wrangle at trap,<sup>1</sup> or rook<sup>2</sup> at span-farthing,<sup>3</sup> fits him for civil conversation or business, I do not see. And what qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a troop of play-fellows as schools usually assemble together from parents of all kinds, that a father should so much covet, is hard to divine. I am sure, he who is able to be at the charge of a tutor at home, may there give his son a more genteel carriage, more manly thoughts, and a sense of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater proficiency in learning into the bargain, and ripen him up sooner into a man, than any at school can do. Not that I blame the schoolmaster in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three pupils<sup>4</sup> in the same house, and three or four

<sup>1</sup> **Trap]** 'A game in which a ball is thrown up into the air by striking the end of a balanced stick on which it rests, and is then struck with a bat.' (Webster.)

<sup>2</sup> **Rook]** i.e. to cheat. So the substantives 'rooker' and 'rook' are used to denote cheats. Cf. 'rookers and sharks' (*Praise of Folly*, p. 83).

<sup>3</sup> **Span-farthing]** 'A puerile game supposed to be thus played: one throws a counter, or piece of money, which the other wins, if he can throw another so as to hit it, or lie within a span of it.' (Nares.) The game was also called 'Span-counter.' Cf.: 'Tell the king that for his father's sake Henry V., in whose time boys went to *span-counter* for French crowns, I am content he shall reign.' (2 *Hen. IV.*, iv. 2.)

<sup>4</sup> **Two or three pupils]** Isaac Taylor thus sums up the advantages of private and public schools respectively: 'The distinguishing recommendations, then, of private education (intellectual culture only

score boys lodged up and down : for let the master's industry and skill be never so great, it is impossible he should have fifty or an hundred scholars under his

now considered) are, first, that the stress of the process may be made to rest upon the reciprocal affections of the teacher and the taught, instead of its falling upon law, and routine, and mechanism ; secondly, that everything, in method and in matter, may be adapted to the individual capacities and tastes of the learner, and the utmost advantage secured for every special talent ; thirdly, that it is, or may be, wholly exempt from the encumbrance and despotism of statutes or of immemorial but perhaps irrational usages, or of prevalent notions, and may come altogether under the control of good sense ; and that it is free to admit every approved practice ; and, fourthly, that, whereas public education is necessarily a system of hastened development, private education may follow out the contrary principle of retarded development.

‘If it had come within my purpose to discuss the general question of the comparative advantages, on the whole, of the two systems, many other points must have been adverted to ; and especially so if the moral and religious bearing of the subject had been included in such an argument. But although this general question is here held in abeyance, I would not even seem to be unmindful of the many and powerful reasons which may induce parents, even if home education be in their case practicable, yet to send their children, or at least their sons, to school. Such are—the superior ability of masters who have devoted their lives to particular branches of instruction—the advantages, so important to boys, of finding their level among others, the stirring and healthful influence of emulation—the means of acquiring self-confidence, and the probability of acquiring common discretion, as well as pliability, on that wider field ; and not least, the salubrious animal excitement, the buoyant inspiration of high sport, which is to be had in the playground, and for which it is extremely difficult, we might say impossible, to find an efficient substitute in the quietness of home.

‘But then, if we were thus to go into the general question, we must put into the other scale—beside the merely intellectual advantages stated above, those reasons which spring from the fact (hardly to be denied) that home is the place where, if at all, purity of sentiment is to be preserved from contamination, where the domestic feelings may be cherished, and the heart and tastes refined ; and where, especially, religious knowledge, religious habits, a genuine conscientiousness, and an unfeigned piety, may best be imparted, conserved, and promoted. These reasons will, with some parents, outweigh every other consideration ; and yet such would do well to remember that there is a balance, even in relation to the *moral* welfare of children, and that an extreme anxiety to seclude young persons from all knowledge of, and contact with, the evil that is abroad, induces, often, a reaction, worse in its consequences than an early and unreserved acquaintance with the world as it is.’—*Home Education*, pp. 16-18.

eye, any longer than they are in the school together: nor can it be expected, that he should instruct them successfully in any thing but their books; the forming of their minds and manners requiring a constant attention, and particular application to every single boy, which is impossible in a numerous flock, and would be wholly in vain (could he have time to study and correct every one's particular defects, and wrong inclinations) when the lad was to be left to himself, or the prevailing infection of his fellows, the greatest part of the four-and-twenty hours.

But fathers observing, that fortune is often most successfully courted by bold and bustling men, are glad to see their sons pert and forward betimes; take it for a happy omen, that they will be thriving men, and look on the tricks they play their school-fellows, or learn from them, as a proficiency in the art of living, and making their way through the world. But I must take the liberty to say, that he lays the foundation of his son's fortune in virtue and good breeding, takes the only sure and warrantable way. And it is not the waggeries or cheats practised amongst school-boys, it is not their roughness one to another; nor the well-laid plots of robbing an orchard together, that make an able man; but the principles of justice, generosity, and sobriety, joined with observation and industry, qualities which I judge school-boys do not learn much of one another. And if a young gentleman bred at home, be not taught more of them than he could learn at school, his father has made a very ill choice of a tutor. Take a boy from the top of a grammar-school, and one of the same age bred as he should be in his father's family, and bring them into good company together, and then see which of the two will have the more manly carriage, and address himself with the more becoming assurance to strangers. Here I imagine the school-

boy's confidence will either fail or discredit him ; and if it be such as fits him only for the conversation of boys, he were better to be without it.

Vice, if we may believe the general complaint, ripens so fast now-a-days, and runs up to seed so early in young people, that it is impossible to keep a lad from the spreading contagion, if you will venture him abroad in the herd, and trust to chance or his own inclination for the choice of his company at school. By what fate vice hath so thriven amongst us these years past, and by what hands it has been nursed up into so uncontrolled a dominion, I shall leave to others to inquire. I wish that those who complain of the great decay of Christian piety and virtue everywhere, and of learning and of acquired improvements in the gentry of this generation, would consider how to retrieve them in the next. This I am sure, that if the foundation of it be not laid in the education and principling of the youth, all other endeavours will be in vain. And if the innocence, sobriety, and industry of those who are coming up, be not taken care of, and preserved, it will be ridiculous to expect, that those who are to succeed next on the stage, should abound in that virtue, ability, and learning, which has hitherto made England considerable in the world. I was going to add courage too, though it has been looked on as the natural inheritance of Englishmen. What has been talked of some late actions at sea,<sup>1</sup> of a kind unknown to

<sup>1</sup> **Some late actions at sea]** Locke alludes to the indecisive engagement between the English and French fleets in Bantry Bay (1684), and to the unequivocal defeat of the combined English and Dutch fleet under Admiral Torrington, by the French under Tourville, off Beachy Head in 1690. Macaulay vividly describes the alarm occasioned by this naval disgrace : ' There has scarcely ever been so sad a day in London as that on which the news of the battle of Beachy Head arrived. The shame was insupportable ; the peril was imminent. What if the victorious enemy should do what De Ruyter had done ? What if the dockyards of Chatham should again be destroyed ? What



our ancestors, gives me occasion to say, that debauchery sinks the courage of men ; and when dissoluteness has eaten out the sense of true honour, bravery seldom stays long after it. And I think it impossible to find an instance of any nation, however renowned for their valour, whoever kept their credit in arms, or made themselves redoubtable amongst their neighbours, after corruption had once broken through and dissolved the restraint of discipline, and vice was grown to such a head, that it durst show itself barefaced, without being out of countenance.

It is virtue then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education, and not a forward pertness, or any little arts of shifting.<sup>1</sup> All other considerations and accomplishments should give way and be postponed to this. This is the solid and substantial good which tutors should not only read lectures, and talk of, but the labour and art of education should furnish the mind with, and fasten there, and never cease till the young man had a true relish of it, and placed his strength, his glory, and his pleasure in it.

The more this advances, the easier way will be made for all other accomplishments in their turns ; for he that is brought to submit to virtue, will not be refractory, or resty,<sup>2</sup> in any thing that becomes him ; and therefore I cannot but prefer breeding of a young gentleman at home in his father's sight, under a good governor, as much the best and safest way to this

if the Tower itself should be bombarded? What if the vast wood of masts and yard-arms below London Bridge should be in a blaze?' (*Hist. of Eng.* v. 241.) Torrington was tried by court-martial and acquitted, but was soon after dismissed the service. Tourville, after the defeat of the English off Beachy Head, ranged the Channel unopposed. 'On the twenty-first of July his masts were seen from the rocks of Portsmouth. On the twenty-second he anchored in the harbour of Torbay.' Shortly after he destroyed Teignmouth.

<sup>1</sup> Shifting] i.e. evasion, cunning.

<sup>2</sup> Resty] i.e. restive. See note 2, p. 98.

great and main end of education, when it can be had, and is ordered as it should be. Gentlemen's houses are seldom without variety of company: they should use their sons to all the strange faces that come there, and engage them in conversation with men of parts and breeding, as soon as they are capable of it. And why those who live in the country should not take them with them, when they make visits of civility<sup>1</sup> to their neighbours I know not. This I am sure, a father that breeds his son at home, has the opportunity to have him more in his own company, and there give him what encouragement he thinks fit, and can keep him better from the taint of servants, and the meaner sort of people, than is possible to be done abroad.<sup>2</sup> But what shall be resolved in the case, must in great measure be left to the parents, to be determined by their circumstances and conveniences; only I think it the worst sort of good husbandry,<sup>3</sup> for a father not to strain himself a little for his son's breeding; which, let his condition be what it will, is the best portion he can leave him. But if, after all, it shall be thought by some, that the breeding at home has too little company, and that at ordinary schools, not such as it should be for a young gentleman, I think there might be ways found out to avoid the inconveniences on the one side and the other.

## [EXAMPLE.]

71. Having under consideration how great the influence of company is, and how prone we are all, especially children, to imitation; I must here take the liberty to mind<sup>4</sup> parents of this one thing, viz. That

<sup>1</sup> Visits of civility] i.e. formal visits of courtesy. See note 4, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Abroad] i.e. from home. See note 1, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Husbandry] i.e. thrift, economy. Cf.: 'For borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry' (*Hamlet*).

<sup>4</sup> To mind] i.e. to put in mind.

he that will have his son have a respect for him, and his orders, must himself have a great reverence for his son. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.*<sup>1</sup> You must do nothing before him, which you would not have him imitate. If any thing escape you, which you would have pass for a fault in him, he will be sure to shelter himself under your example, and shelter himself so as that it will not be easy to come at him, to correct it in him the right way. If you punish him for what he sees you practise yourself, he will not think that severity to proceed from kindness in you, careful to amend a fault in him ; but will be apt to interpret it, the peevishness and arbitrary imperiousness of a father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his son the liberty and pleasures he takes himself. Or if you assume to yourself the liberty you have taken, as a privilege belonging to riper years to which a child must not aspire, you do but add new force to your example, and recommend the action the more powerfully to him. For you must always remember, that children affect to be men<sup>2</sup> earlier than is thought ; and they love breeches, not for their cut or ease, but because the having them is a mark or a step towards manhood. What I say of the father's carriage before his children, must extend itself to all those who have any authority over them, or for whom he would have them have any respect.

[SECTION VIII. §§ 72-87.]

[REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS (*resumed*).]

72. But to return to the business of rewards and punishments. All the actions of childishness, and

<sup>1</sup> *Maxima, &c.*] (The greatest reverence is due to children.) *Juv. Sat. xiv.*

<sup>2</sup> *Affect to be men*] See Introduction, p. 46.

unfashionable carriage, and whatever time and age will of itself be sure to reform, being (as I have said) exempt from the discipline of the rod, there will not be so much need of beating children, as is generally made use of. To which, if we add learning to read, write, dance, foreign language, &c., as under the same privilege, there will be but very rarely any occasion for blows or force in an ingenuous education. The right way to teach them those things, is to give them a liking and inclination<sup>1</sup> to what you propose to them to be learned, and that will engage their industry and application. This I think no hard matter to do, if children be handled as they should be, and the rewards and punishments<sup>2</sup> above mentioned be carefully applied, and with them these few rules observed in the method of instructing them.

73. 1. None of the things they are to learn, should ever be made a burden<sup>3</sup> to them, or imposed

<sup>1</sup> **A liking and inclination]** The instincts of curiosity and activity will assert themselves as readily in school as out of school, if the teacher will put before his pupils suitable objects. He has only to take up the education of the child where Nature left it off in the nursery, and accommodate his methods to hers. Let him proceed from the concrete to the abstract, from the simple to the complex, from the indefinite to the definite, and let him remember all the time that he is not *forming* a passive mind but *developing* an active one. The co-operation of the child with the teacher is the first condition of successful teaching, and the best guarantee for the maintenance of good discipline. How great an aversion for knowledge must be created in the minds of children by compelling them to learn things that they do not understand, and would not care for, even if they did understand them, it is needless to point out.

<sup>2</sup> **The rewards and punishments]** The teacher should not rely too much upon rewards and punishments of any kind, those sanctioned by Locke included. If he be judicious in the selection of the subjects which he teaches, and skilful in his methods of instruction, he will not have occasion to lean, to any great extent, upon rewards and punishments. The pleasure of learning will be sufficient to secure industry and application. It ought to be as unnecessary to reward a child for intellectual, as for bodily, hunger. The true reward is the satisfaction of the appetite.

<sup>3</sup> **A burden]** Education would, indeed, be a curious discipline for

on them as a task. Whatever is so proposed, presently<sup>1</sup> becomes irksome ; the mind takes an aversion to it, though before it were a thing of delight or indifference. Let a child be but ordered to whip his top at a certain time every day, whether he has or has not a mind to it ; let this be but required of him as a duty, wherein he must spend so many hours morning and afternoon, and see whether he will not soon be weary of any play at this rate. Is it not so with grown men ? What they do cheerfully of themselves, do they not presently grow sick of, and can no more endure, as soon as they find it is expected of them as a duty ? Children have as much a mind to show that they are free, that their own good actions come from themselves, that they are absolute and independent, as any of the proudest of you grown men, think of them as you please.

74. 2. As a consequence of this, they should seldom be put about doing even those things you have got an inclination in them to, but when they have a mind<sup>2</sup> and disposition to it. He that loves

encountering the duties of after-life if it never imposed a burden upon a child, and never even required him to do what he is usually inclined to, except when in a favourable mood. (See § 74, 2.) Yet there is an important element of truth in what Locke says. Lessons should be made as little burdensome as possible ; favourable opportunities should be seized ; and the most should be made of those hours of the day when there is a maximum of energy available for purposes of study. See § 75.

<sup>1</sup> **Presently**] i.e. at once.

<sup>2</sup> **When they have a mind**] Locke loses sight here of the importance of the child's forming habits of regularity. Adults have to settle down to work whether it be palatable at the time or not, and the proper preparation for this stern necessity would seem to be to accustom children from an early period to definite hours of study. It is true that we are not always equally capable of intellectual effort, but sufficient heed will be taken of this fact if our time-table conform to the general laws which regulate the distribution of energy throughout the day. We can utilise old knowledge in new combinations when we are incapable of acquiring new ; we can practise mechanical arts when we are incapable of reasoning. School hours should be short, and often

reading, writing, music, &c.; finds yet in himself certain seasons wherein those things have no relish to him ; and, if at that time he forces himself to it, he only pothers and wearies himself to no purpose. So it is with children. This change of temper should be carefully observed in them, and the favourable seasons of aptitude and inclination be heedfully laid hold of: and if they are not often enough forward of themselves, a good disposition should be talked into them,<sup>1</sup> before they be set upon any thing. This I think no hard matter for a discreet tutor to do, who has studied his pupil's temper, and will be at a little pains to fill his head with suitable ideas, such as may

broken, either by recreation in the play-ground or by music. No lesson and no posture should be unduly prolonged. Change is rest both to mind and body.

<sup>1</sup> *Talked into them*] Locke means that the teacher should whet the mental appetite of his pupils by arousing their curiosity, by showing them the utility of the knowledge which he wishes to communicate to them, and so forth. Great art is requisite in introducing a new subject, for the rudiments of most subjects are somewhat unattractive. The worst of all methods is to begin a new subject with definitions. 'General formulas,' says Mr. Spencer, 'which men have devised to express groups of details, and which have severally simplified their conceptions by uniting many facts into one fact, they have supposed must simplify the conceptions of a child also. They have forgotten that a generalisation is simpler only in comparison with the whole mass of particular truths it comprehends ; that it is more complex than any one of those truths taken simply ; that only after many of these single truths have been acquired does the generalisation ease the memory and help the reason ; and that to a mind not possessing these single truths, it is necessarily a mystery. Thus, confounding two kinds of simplification, teachers have constantly erred by setting out with "first principles," a proceeding essentially, though not apparently, at variance with the primary rule [of proceeding from the simple to the complex], which implies that the mind should be introduced to principles through the medium of examples, and so should be led from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract.' The logical order is not necessarily the order of teaching. Very often it is more advantageous to follow the historical order in which a science has been developed, there being a close correspondence between the intellectual development of the individual and that of the race. When we begin by teaching rules and definitions, we begin where the philosopher leaves off, and so invert the natural order of education.

make him in love with the present business. By this means a great deal of time and tiring would be saved ; for a child will learn three times as much when he is in tune, as he will with double the time and pains when he goes awkwardly, or is dragged unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it should, children might be permitted to weary themselves with play, and yet have time enough to learn what is suited to the capacity of each age. But no such thing is considered in the ordinary way of education, nor can it well be. The rough discipline of the rod is built upon other principles, has no attraction in it, regards not what humour children are in, nor looks after favourable seasons of inclination. And indeed it would be ridiculous, when compulsion and blows have raised an aversion in the child to his task, to expect he should freely of his own accord leave his play, and with pleasure court the occasions of learning. Whereas, were matters ordered right, learning any thing they should be taught, might be made as much a recreation to their play, as their play is to their learning. The pains are equal on both sides. Nor is it that which troubles them, for they love to be busy,<sup>1</sup> and the change and variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is, in that which we call play, they act at liberty, and employ their pains (whereof you may observe them never sparing) freely ; but what they are to learn, is forced upon them ; they are called,

<sup>1</sup> **They love to be busy]** Here lies one of the most valuable secrets of successful teaching and discipline. Children are often accused of idleness when they are, as a matter of fact, busily seeking something to do. It is not too idle they are, but too active to suit the convenience of those who are in charge of them. They delight in activity of mind and body, and it is the teacher's part to utilise this instinct by giving them suitable occupations, by securing their co-operation wherever it can be called in, by exercising each mental faculty in its proper turn, and by providing convenient safety-valves for letting off exuberant animal spirits. Suitable exercise is, at once, an essential condition of happiness and of bodily and mental development.

compelled, and driven to it. This is that, which at first entrance balks and cools them ; they want their liberty. Get them but to ask their tutor to teach them, as they do often their playfellows, instead of his calling upon them to learn, and they being satisfied that they act as freely in this, as they do in other things, they will go on with as much pleasure in it, and it will not differ from their other sports and play. By these ways carefully pursued, a child may be brought to desire to be taught any thing, you have a mind he should learn. The hardest part, I confess, is with the first or eldest ; but when once he is set right, it is easy by him to lead the rest whither one will.

75. Though it be past doubt, that the fittest time for children to learn any thing, is, when their minds are in tune, and well disposed to it : when neither flagging of spirit, nor intentness of thought upon something else, makes them awkward and averse ; yet two things are to be taken care of. 1. That these seasons either not being warily observed, and laid hold on, as often as they return, or else, not returning as often as they should, the improvement of the child be not thereby neglected, and so he be let grow into an habitual idleness, and confirmed in this indisposition.<sup>1</sup> 2. That though other things are ill learned,

<sup>1</sup> **Indisposition]** Locke is evidently alive to the dangers of accommodating teaching to the capricious humours of children. He sees that, by ministering to these humours, there is a risk of our encouraging idleness, and that, although there are times and seasons when we undoubtedly learn better than at others, the formation of regular habits and the strengthening of the will are of greater importance than the acquisition of knowledge. The dangers deprecated are to be avoided by taking note only of the general laws involved in successful application to mental work (disregarding mere instances of caprice), and by bringing legitimate motives to the support of duty in its first struggle with inclination. Children soon learn to appreciate the advantages of regularity when they find that the systematic surrender of a portion of their liberty is the surest safeguard to a happy enjoyment of the remainder,



when the mind is either indisposed, or otherwise taken up, yet it is of great moment, and worth our endeavours, to teach the mind to get the mastery over itself, and to be able upon choice, to take itself off from the hot pursuit of one thing, and set itself upon another with facility and delight, or at any time to shake off its sluggishness, and vigorously employ itself about what reason, or the advice of another shall direct. This is to be done in children by trying them sometimes, when they are by laziness unbent, or by avocation bent another way, and endeavouring to make them buckle to the thing proposed. If by this means the mind can get an habitual dominion over itself, lay by ideas or business as occasion requires, and betake itself to new and less acceptable employments, without reluctance or discomposure, it will be an advantage of more consequence than Latin or logic, or most of those things children are usually required to learn.

[COMPULSION.]

76. Children being more active and busy in that age, than in any other part of their life, and being indifferent to any thing they can do, so they may be but doing, dancing and Scotch-hoppers<sup>1</sup> would be the same thing to them, were the encouragements and discouragements equal. But to things we would have them learn, the great and only discouragement I can observe, is, that they are called to it,<sup>2</sup> it is made their

<sup>1</sup> *Scotch-hoppers*] The game now called 'Hop-scotch,' in which children hop over scotches or lines traced in the ground. To *scotch* is to make a slight incision. Cf. : 'We have *scotched* the snake, not killed it' (*Macbeth*). So a 'scotch' meant a slight superficial wound.

<sup>2</sup> *Called to it*] The practical comment on this is : Make learning pleasant, and children will call themselves to it. Make all its associations pleasant, and whatever irksomeness may be still left in learning will be cheerfully submitted to for its concomitant happiness. Children dislike harsh looks, harsh words, and harsh restraints, much more than

business, they are teased and chid about it, and do it with trembling and apprehension ; or, when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it,<sup>1</sup> till they are quite tired : all which intrenches too much on that natural freedom they extremely affect. And it is that liberty alone which gives the true relish and delight to their ordinary play-games. Turn the tables, and you will find they will soon change their application ;<sup>2</sup> especially if they see the examples of others, whom they esteem and think above themselves. And if the things which they observe others to do, be ordered so, that they insinuate themselves into them,

they dislike learning ; but it is not surprising if they transfer their dislike of the teacher to the subject of his instruction. Where there is no such disturbing prejudice, children are as naturally drawn to suitable learning as to suitable food. Unhappily a large part of the food set before children is no more fit food for their minds, than stones would be fit food for their bodies. The consequence is that we lose the enormous advantage of the natural attractiveness of learning, and make a child's application to his work almost wholly dependent on the strength of his will, and that at an age when the will is weakest and the temptations to disregard duty are strongest. How much wiser would it be to give up teaching what is manifestly unfit for children, to render the teaching of the remainder more attractive by a more studious regard paid to the laws of the mind, and so bring to the support of other motives the momentum of natural inclination ! We need not be solicitous about losing opportunities for thwarting desire. The will has to grow just as the body has, and it is the greatest folly to suppose we strengthen it by coercing it.

<sup>1</sup> **Kept too long at it]** Good discipline and successful teaching are largely dependent on a well-devised time-table. Children should be rarely kept for more than half an hour at the same lesson, and lessons involving the exercise of the same mental powers and the maintenance of the same posture should not come in succession. Teachers will do well to remember that it is expedient for children to leave off a mental, as a bodily meal, with an appetite, and that in this, as in many other matters, 'the half is more than the whole.' A vast amount of teaching effort is constantly wasted from disregarding the mental appetite of children. They are treated as if they were passive reservoirs of unlimited capacity, instead of immature organisms with feeble powers of mental digestion and assimilation. It is this practice which constitutes what is properly called 'cram.'

<sup>2</sup> **Change their application]** i.e. they will apply themselves to their studies with the same eagerness as they apply themselves to play.

as the privilege of an age or condition above theirs ; then ambition, and the desire still to get forward and higher, and to be like those above them, will set them on work, and make them go on with vigour and pleasure ; pleasure in what they have begun by their own desire, in which way the enjoyment of their dearly-beloved freedom will be no small encouragement to them. To all which, if there be added the satisfaction of credit and reputation, I am apt to think there will need no other spur to excite their application and assiduity, as much as is necessary. I confess, there needs patience and skill, gentleness and attention, and a prudent conduct to attain this at first. But why have you a tutor, if there needed no pains ? But when this is once established, all the rest will follow, more easily than in any more severe and imperious discipline. And I think it no hard matter to gain this point ; I am sure it will not be where children have no ill examples set before them. The great danger therefore, I apprehend, is only from servants, and other ill-ordered children, or such other vicious or foolish people, who spoil children both by the ill pattern they set before them in their own ill manners, and by giving them together the two things they should never have at once ; I mean vicious pleasures and commendation.<sup>1</sup>

[CHIDING.]

77. As children should very seldom be corrected by blows, so I think frequent, and especially passionate chiding of almost as ill consequence. It lessens the authority of the parents, and the respect of the child ; for I bid you still remember, they distinguish early betwixt passion and reason : and as they cannot but have a reverence for what comes from the latter,

<sup>1</sup> And commendation] i.e. vicious commendation.

so they quickly grow into a contempt of the former ; or if it causes a present terror, yet it soon wears off, and natural inclination will easily learn to slight such scare-crows which make a noise, but are not animated by reason. Children being to be restrained by their parents only in vicious (which, in their tender years, are only a few) things, a look or nod only ought to correct them, when they do amiss ; or if words are sometimes to be used, they ought to be grave, kind, and sober, representing the ill or unbecomingness of the faults, rather than a hasty rating of the child for it ; which makes him not sufficiently distinguish, whether your dislike be not more directed to him, than his fault. Passionate chiding usually carries rough and ill language with it, which has this farther ill effect, that it teaches and justifies it in children : and the names that their parents or preceptors give them, they will not be ashamed or backward to bestow on others, having so good authority for the use of them.

## [OBSTINACY.]

78. I foresee here it will be objected to me, what then, will you have children never beaten nor chid for any fault? This will be to let loose the reins to all kind of disorder. Not so much as is imagined, if a right course has been taken in the first seasoning<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> **The first seasoning]** In discussing the expediency of corporal punishment we often lose sight of the great difference between those children who have been carefully trained from infancy, and those who have been allowed to contract bad habits. A degree of severity may be necessary in the case of the latter which would be wholly needless in dealing with the former. It is as unwise to withhold the rod in all cases as to prescribe it in all cases. Children sometimes grow so vicious through neglect that they will not respond to the motives that actuate well-trained children, and in such cases severity becomes indispensable until higher influences gradually render it unnecessary. What the teacher has mainly to guard against is the getting to look upon corporal punishment as necessary in ordinary cases. It is a useful medicine in small doses, but it is bad food.

their mind, and implanting that awe of their parents above mentioned. For beating, by constant observation, is found to do little good, where the smart of it is all the punishment is feared or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out, with the memory of it: but yet there is one, and but one fault, for which, I think, children should be beaten, and that is, obstinacy or rebellion. And in this too, I would have it ordered so, if it can be, that the shame of the whipping,<sup>1</sup> and not the pain, should be the greatest part of the punishment. Shame of doing amiss, and deserving chastisement, is the only true restraint belonging to virtue. The smart of the rod, if shame accompanies it not, soon ceases and is forgotten, and will quickly by use lose its terror. I have known the children of a person of quality kept in awe by the fear of having their shoes pulled off, as much as others by apprehensions of a rod hanging over them. Some such punishment I think better than beating; for it is shame of the fault, and the disgrace that attends it, that they should stand in fear of, rather than pain, if you would have them have a temper truly ingenuous. But stubbornness, and an obstinate disobedience, must be mastered with force and blows; for this there is no other remedy. Whatever particular action you bid him do, or forbear, you must be sure to see yourself obeyed; no quarter in this case; no resistance; for when once it comes to be a trial of skill, a contest for mastery betwixt you, as it is if you command, and he refuses, you must be sure to carry it,<sup>2</sup> whatever

<sup>1</sup> Shame of the whipping] Rather, the shame of the *offence*. That this is Locke's meaning is clear from what he says below of the 'shame of doing amiss.' The mere shame at humiliation before others is a scarcely less selfish motive than a dread of bodily pain.

<sup>2</sup> You must be sure to carry it] This is good advice, but, nevertheless, the teacher will do well to try to avoid pushing matters to extremes. Obstinacy is fostered by constant encounters, and is best assailed perhaps by indirect measures. Assert your authority, at any

blows it costs, if a nod or words will not prevail ; unless, for ever after, you intend to live in obedience to your son. A prudent and kind mother of my acquaintance, was, on such an occasion, forced to whip her little daughter, at her first coming home from nurse, eight times successively the same morning, before she could master her stubbornness, and obtain a compliance in a very easy and indifferent matter. If she had left off sooner,<sup>1</sup> and stopped at the seventh whipping, she had spoiled the child for ever, and, by her unprevailing blows, only confirmed her refractoriness, very hardly afterwards to be cured : but wisely persisting till she had bent her mind, and supplied<sup>2</sup> her will, the only end of correction and chas-

cost, if the occasion require ; but avoid, as far as possible, occasions that compel you to have recourse to force to maintain it. Such contests are often unseemly, and often provoke an outbreak of temper which places the teacher in the wrong. At the same time, if punishment be indispensable, it should be sufficiently severe to produce the desired result. One firmly administered correction may render its repetition unnecessary ; half measures, on the other hand, have to be resorted to again and again without producing the effect hoped for.

<sup>1</sup> *If she had left off sooner*] Locke does not consider what might have happened, if she had not commenced to whip at all, nor does he inquire what were the ultimate effects upon the character of a tender child of eight consecutive whippings. Corporal punishment often seems to be successful because it produces immediate obedience ; but we should take a different view of it, perhaps, if we could see the whole range of its permanent influences on the character.

<sup>2</sup> *Supplied*] i.e. rendered supple or pliant. These metaphors are somewhat misleading. Locke speaks of the will as if it were a stiff piece of leather. What successful (?) punishment does, is to make the fear of pain a sufficient determining motive to produce immediate obedience. The student will do well to examine carefully the metaphors which are commonly employed to describe mental processes and phenomena. They are mostly derived from material things, and not infrequently we argue from the metaphor as if the question before us were a purely physical one. Sometimes we speak of the mind as if it were a sort of intellectual stomach, sometimes as if it were a piece of plastic clay, sometimes as if it were a sort of cupboard, sometimes as if it were a writing-tablet. There is no harm in this so long as we bear in mind the metaphorical character of our language, but it is otherwise when our metaphors run away with us, and are substituted for the actual facts.

tisement, she established her authority thoroughly in the very first occasions, and had ever after a very ready compliance and obedience in all things from her daughter; for as this was the first time, so I think it was the last too she ever struck her.

The pain of the rod, the first occasion that requires it, continued and increased, without leaving off till it has thoroughly prevailed, should first bend the mind, and settle the parent's authority; and then gravity, mixed with kindness, should for ever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make people more wary in the use of the rod and the cudgel, and keep them from being so apt to think beating the safe and universal remedy to be applied at random on all occasions. This is certain, however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches not the mind,

George Eliot tells us that Tom Tulliver's brain being peculiarly impervious to etymology and demonstrations, Mr. Stelling, his tutor, came to the conclusion that it was peculiarly in need of being ploughed and harrowed by those patent implements. 'It was his favourite metaphor,' she continues, 'that the classics and geometry constituted that culture of the mind which prepared it for the reception of any subsequent crop. I say nothing against Mr. Stelling's theory: if we are to have one regimen for all minds, his seems to me as good as any other. I only know it turned out as uncomfortably for Tom Tulliver as if he had been plied with cheese in order to remedy a gastric weakness which prevented him from digesting it. It is astonishing what a different result one gets by changing the metaphor! Once call the brain an intellectual stomach, and one's ingenious conception of the classics and geometry as ploughs and harrows seems to settle nothing. But then it is open to some one else to follow great authorities, and call the mind a sheet of white paper or a mirror, in which case one's knowledge of the digestive process becomes quite irrelevant. It was doubtless an ingenious idea to call the camel the ship of the desert, but it would hardly lead one far in training that useful beast. O Aristotle! if you had had the advantage of being "the freshest modern" instead of the greatest ancient, would you not have mingled your praise of metaphorical speech, as a sign of high intelligence, with a lamentation that intelligence so rarely shows itself in speech without metaphor,—that we can so seldom declare what a thing is, except by saying it is something else?' (*Mill on the Floss*, book ii. chap. 1.)

and makes not the will supple, it hardens the offender ; and whatever pain he has suffered for it, it does but endear him to his beloved stubbornness, which has got him this time the victory, and prepares him to contest, and hope for it for the future. Thus I doubt not, but by ill-ordered correction, many have been taught to be obstinate and refractory, who otherwise would have been very pliant and tractable. For if you punish a child so, as if it were only to revenge the past fault, which has raised your choler, what operation can this have upon his mind, which is the part to be amended ? If there were no sturdy humour, or wilfulness,<sup>1</sup> mixed with his fault, there was nothing in it that required the severity of blows. A kind or grave admonition is enough to remedy the slips of frailty, forgetfulness, or inadvertency, and is as much as they will stand in need of. But if there were a perverseness in the will, if it were a designed, resolved disobedience, the punishment is not to be measured by the greatness or smallness of the matter wherein it appeared, but by the opposition it carries, and stands in, to that respect and submission which is due to the father's orders ; which must always be rigorously exacted, and the blows by pauses laid on, till they reach the mind, and you perceive the signs of a true sorrow, shame, and purpose of obedience.<sup>2</sup>

This, I confess, requires something more than

<sup>1</sup> **Wilfulness]** What is called wilfulness is often, as Dr. Carpenter has pointed out, 'just the contrary of will-fulness ; being the direct result of the want of volitional control over the automatic activity of the brain.' (*Mental Physiology*, p. 135.)

<sup>2</sup> **The signs of true sorrow, &c.]** Locke does not tell us how we are to distinguish between these and mere dread of further pain. There is no doubt that we can reach the mind through the body, but we cannot be so sure that we can in this way reach the part of the mind we want to get at. It should also be remembered that the support rendered to endurance by pride is strengthened in proportion to the punishment inflicted. The longer a boy can hold out against the coercion of the rod, the prouder he is of his triumph.



setting children a task, and whipping them without any more ado, if it be not done, and done to our fancy. This requires care, attention, observation, and a nice study of children's tempers, and weighing their faults well, before we come to this sort of punishment. But is not that better, than always to have the rod in hand, as the only instrument of government? And by frequent use of it on all occasions, misapply and render inefficacious this last and useful remedy, where there is need of it. For what else can be expected, when it is promiscuously used upon every little slip? When a mistake in concordance,<sup>1</sup> or a wrong position in verse, shall have the severity of the lash, in a well-tempered and industrious lad, as surely as a wilful crime in an obstinate and perverse offender, how can such a way of correction be expected to do good on the mind, and set that right? which is the only thing to be looked after; and when set right, brings all the rest that you can desire along with it.

79. Where a wrong bent of the will wants not amendment, there can be no need of blows. All other faults, where the mind is rightly disposed, and refuses not the government and authority of the father or tutor, are but mistakes, and may often be overlooked; or when they are taken notice of, need no other but the gentle remedies of advice, direction, and reproof, till the repeated and wilful neglect of those, shows the fault to be in the mind, and that

<sup>1</sup> **Concordance]** i.e. grammatical concord. Blunders, unless the obvious results of persistent carelessness or idleness, should be treated very differently from moral offences. Disregard of this principle confuses a child's ideas of right and wrong. How can he believe that lying is a worse offence than a false quantity or a syntactical blunder, when all three are punished in the same way? If teachers would only remember that there is always a reason for a wrong answer, they would often find that they themselves were the cause of the blunders for which they punish their pupils. In any case, they would do well to seek to remove the source of the blunders rather than punish for them.

a manifest perverseness of the will lies at the root of their disobedience. But whenever obstinacy, which is an open defiance, appears, that cannot be winked at or neglected, but must, in the first instance, be subdued and mastered; only care must be had, that we mistake not, and we must be sure it is obstinacy,<sup>1</sup> and nothing else.

80. But since the occasions of punishment, especially beating, are as much to be avoided as may be, I think it should not be often brought to this point. If the awe I spoke of be once got, a look will be sufficient in most cases. Nor indeed should the same carriage, seriousness, or application be expected from young children, as from those of riper growth. They must be permitted, as I said, the foolish and childish actions suitable to their years, without taking notice of them. Inadvertency, carelessness, and gaiety, is the character of that age. I think the severity I spoke of is not to extend itself to such unseasonable restraints. Nor is that hastily to be interpreted obstinacy or wilfulness, which is the natural product of their age or temper. In such mis-carriages they are to be assisted, and helped towards an amendment, as weak people under a natural infirmity; which, though they are warned of, yet every relapse must not be counted a perfect neglect, and they presently<sup>2</sup> treated as obstinate. Faults of frailty, as they should never be neglected, or let pass without minding, so, unless the will mix with them, they should never be exaggerated, or very sharply reprov'd; but with a gentle hand set right, as time and age permit. By this means, children will come to

<sup>1</sup> **Obstinacy]** Children often lose their presence of mind so completely as to be utterly incapable for the time of any mental concentration. They seem to be obstinate when, in reality, they are only frightened out of their wits. Often too they seem obstinate from some misapprehension of their teacher's meaning.

<sup>2</sup> **Presently]** i.e. straightway, at once.

see what it is in any miscarriage that is chiefly offensive, and so learn to avoid it. This will encourage them to keep their wills right ; which is the great business, when they find that it preserves them from any great displeasure, and that in all their other failings they meet with the kind concern and help, rather than the anger and passionate reproaches of their tutor and parents. Keep them from vice and vicious dispositions, and such a kind of behaviour in general will come with every degree of their age, as is suitable to that age, and the company they ordinarily converse with ; and as they grow in years, they will grow in attention and application. But that your words may always carry weight and authority with them, if it shall happen, upon any occasion, that you bid him leave off the doing of any even childish things, you must be sure to carry the point, and not let him have the mastery. But yet, I say, I would have the father seldom interpose his authority and command in these cases, or in any other, but such as have a tendency to vicious habits. I think there are better ways of prevailing with them ; and a gentle persuasion in reasoning, (when the first point of submission to your will is got,) will most times do much better.

## [REASONING.]

81. It will perhaps be wondered, that I mention reasoning with children : and yet I cannot but think that the true way of dealing with them. They understand it as early as they do language ; and, if I misobserve not, they love to be treated as rational creatures, sooner than is imagined. It is a pride should be cherished in them, and, as much as can be, made the greatest instrument to turn them by.

But when I talk of reasoning, I do not intend any other, but such as is suited to the child's capacity and apprehension. Nobody can think a boy of three

or seven years old should be argued with, as a grown man. Long discourses, and philosophical reasonings, at best, amaze and confound, but do not instruct children. When I say, therefore, that they must be treated as rational creatures, I mean, that you should make them sensible, by the mildness of your carriage, and the composure even in your correction of them, that what you do is reasonable in you, and useful and necessary for them; and that it is not out of caprichio,<sup>1</sup> passion or fancy, that you command or forbid them any thing. This they are capable of understanding; and there is no virtue they should be excited to, nor fault they should be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of;<sup>2</sup> but it must be such reasons as their age and understanding are capable of, and those proposed always in very few and plain words. The foundations on which several duties are built, and the fountains of right and wrong from which they spring, are not perhaps easily to be let into the minds of grown men, not used to abstract their thoughts from common received opinions. Much less are children capable of reasoning from remote principles. They cannot conceive the force of long deductions. The reasons that move them, must be obvious, and level to their thoughts, and such as may (if I may so say) be felt, and touched.<sup>3</sup> But yet, if their age, temper, and inclination be considered, there will never

<sup>1</sup> **Caprichio**] i.e. caprice. So the editions of 1693, 1699, and 1714. It. *capriccio*, derived by Diez from *capra*, a goat.

<sup>2</sup> **Convinced of**] Even when children cannot understand the reasons for some specific commands, they are capable of reasoning from our general relations towards them; and if they have love and confidence in us, will obey us on the mere strength of this reasoning. This voluntary subordination of the child's reason to the superior wisdom of his parent or teacher, from motives of love and reverence, is the precise analogue, in morals, to the subordination of man's reason to the expressed will of God, in matters of faith, on the like grounds.

<sup>3</sup> **Felt and touched**] i.e. concrete rather than abstract, obvious, presenting what we are accustomed to call *tangible* advantages.

want such motives, as may be sufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet these will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any fault, fit to be taken notice of in them, viz., That it will be a discredit and disgrace to them, and displease you.

[EXAMPLES.]

82. But of all the ways whereby children are to be instructed, and their manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious, is, to set before their eyes the examples,<sup>1</sup> of those things you would have them do, or avoid; which, when they are pointed out to them, in the practice of persons within their knowledge, with some reflections on their beauty or unbecomingness, are of more force to draw or deter their imitation, than any discourses which can be made to them. Virtues and vices can by no words be so plainly set before their understandings, as the actions of other men will show them, when you direct their observation, and bid them view this or that good or bad quality in their practice. And the beauty or uncomeliness of many things, in good and ill breeding, will be better learned, and make deeper impressions on them, in the examples of others, than from any rules or instructions can be given about them.

This is a method to be used, not only whilst they are young, but to be continued even as long as they shall be under another's tuition or conduct; nay, I know not whether it be not the best way to be used by a father, as long as he shall think fit, on any

<sup>1</sup> **Examples]** 'The father of Horace employed this method in the education of his son. Horace, who tells us this himself in *Sat.* iv. book i., enters into very instructive details thereon. It is a passage which cannot be too much read by those who have to bring up children. They ought to know it by heart, and have it often present to their minds.' (Coste.)

occasion, to reform any thing he wishes mended in his son; nothing sinking so gently, and so deep, into men's minds, as example. And what ill they either overlook or indulge in themselves, they cannot but dislike, and be ashamed of, when it is set before them in another.

## [WHIPPING.]

83. It may be doubted, concerning whipping, when, as the last remedy,<sup>1</sup> it comes to be necessary, at what times, and by whom it should be done; whether presently upon committing the fault, whilst it is yet fresh and hot; and whether parents themselves should beat their children. As to the first, I think it should not be done presently, lest passion mingle with it; and so, though it exceed the just proportion, yet it lose of its due weight:<sup>2</sup> for even children discern when we do things in passion. But, as I said before, that has most weight with them, that appears sedately to come from their parent's reason; and they are not without this distinction. Next, if you have any discreet servant capable of it, and has the place of governing your child, (for if you have a tutor, there is no doubt,) I think it is best the smart

<sup>1</sup> The last remedy] 'Ultima ratio.' The word 'last' should make the teacher often ask himself the question, 'If punishment fail, what then?' The only circumstance that can justify corporal punishment is the failure of all other means of correction. The determination of the point at which this condition of things has been reached must clearly be a matter of opinion. Teachers ought to make sure that they have tried every form of moral influence before they have recourse to measures which, even when they succeed in their immediate object, are necessarily degrading. Too often they fly to the rod as the first remedy.

<sup>2</sup> Though it exceed the just proportion, yet it loses of its due weight] This is a happy distinction. A reproofing glance may in some cases have more weight than a severe caning. Punishment loses its effect in proportion as it is unjust. Inflicted in passion, punishment seems to the child the fierce gratification of his teacher's temper, rather than a penalty intended to vindicate violated law and to bring about the reformation of the offender.

should come more immediately from another's hand, though by the parent's order, who should see it done ; whereby the parent's authority will be preserved,<sup>1</sup> and the child's aversion, for the pain it suffers, rather be turned on the person that immediately inflicts it.<sup>2</sup> For I would have a father seldom strike his child, but upon very urgent necessity, and as the last remedy ; and then perhaps it will be fit to do it so that the child should not quickly forget it.

84. But, as I said before, beating is the worst, and therefore, the last means to be used in the correction of children, and that only in cases of extremity, after all gentler ways have been tried, and proved unsuccessful ; which, if well observed, there will be very seldom any need of blows. For, it not being to be imagined that a child will often, if ever, dispute his father's present command in any particular instance ; and the father not interposing his absolute authority, in peremptory rules, concerning either childish or indifferent actions,<sup>3</sup> wherein his son is to have his liberty, or concerning his learning or improvement, wherein there is no compulsion to be used : there remains only the prohibition of some vicious actions, wherein a child is capable of obstinacy, and consequently can deserve beating ; and so there will be but very few occasions of that discipline to be used by any one,

<sup>1</sup> **Preserved]** The first edition reads 'preferred,' evidently a misprint. The editions of 1699 and 1714 give the reading of the text. Coste translates 'l'autorité des parens sera respectée.'

<sup>2</sup> **The person that immediately inflicts it]** This seems a curious reason to urge for entrusting the punishment of a child to another person. If our punishment be justly inflicted, we ought not to shrink from the consequences of personally inflicting it. *Those consequences are a natural check upon the abuse of our power.* If a child be not disproportionately and too frequently punished, and if at other times he be uniformly treated with kindness, neither parent nor teacher needs fear lest aversion should be created by the punishment which he is sometimes compelled to inflict.

<sup>3</sup> **Indifferent actions]** i.e. such as are matters of indifference, having no distinct moral character,

who considers well, and orders his child's education as it should be. For the first seven years, what vices can a child be guilty of, but lying, or some ill-natured<sup>1</sup> tricks; the repeated commission whereof, after his father's direct command against it, shall bring him into the condemnation of obstinacy, and the chastisement of the rod? If any vicious inclination in him be, in the first appearance and instances of it, treated as it should be, first with your wonder,<sup>2</sup> and then, if returning again a second time, discountenanced with the severe brow of a father, tutor, and all about him, and a treatment suitable to the state of discredit before mentioned; and this continued till he be made sensible and ashamed of his fault, I imagine there will be no need of any other correction, nor ever any occasion to come to blows. The necessity of such chastisement is usually the consequence only of former indulgences or neglects: if vicious inclinations were watched from the beginning,<sup>3</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> **Ill-natured]** Not unkind, but indicative of an evil nature. Archbishop Trench says of 'ill-nature': 'This is now rather one special evil quality, as *kakia* is often in Greek; it was once the complex of all, or more properly the substratum on which they all were superinduced.' Cf. 'King Henry the Eighth was an *ill-natured* prince to execute so many whom he had so highly favoured.' (Sir T. Overbury.)

<sup>2</sup> **First with your wonder]** Not, of course, with a simulated surprise, but with the natural astonishment that attends the discovery that your confidence has been misplaced. Trust is a powerful dissuasive from doing wrong. Hence the teacher should never give any gratuitous indications that he expects wrong will be done. Warnings against wrong-doing should be general rather than individual, and will be most effective when they grow out of occasions that naturally suggest them. (See § 85.) The weakening of the teacher's confidence is, of course, part of the penalty which a child pays for wrong-doing; but we should never lead him to believe that we expect him to do wrong. Children will, as a rule, sink or rise to our estimate of them.

<sup>3</sup> **From the beginning]** It is because evils are allowed to grow to a head, before any endeavour is made to check them, that parents and teachers are ultimately driven to have recourse to extreme measures to eradicate them. For this reason, no offence should be passed over as trivial and unworthy notice, though care should be taken that the notice is not harsh or disproportionate. The truest kindness to a child



first irregularities, which they cause, corrected by those gentler ways, we should seldom have to do with more than one disorder at once; which would be easily set right, without any stir or noise, and not require so harsh a discipline as beating. Thus one by one, as they appeared, they might all be weeded out, without any signs or memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their faults (by indulging and humouring our little ones) grow up, till they are sturdy and numerous, and the deformity of them makes us ashamed, and uneasy, we are fain to come to the plough and the harrow; the spade and the pick-axe, must go deep to come at the roots; and all the force, skill, and diligence we can use, is scarce enough to cleanse the vitiated seed-plat, overgrown with weeds, and restore us the hopes of fruits, to reward our pains in its season.

85. This course, if observed, will spare both father and child the trouble of repeated injunctions, and multiplied rules of doing and forbearing. For I am of opinion, that of those actions which tend to vicious habits, (which are those alone that a father should interpose his authority and commands in,) none should be forbidden children till they are found guilty of them. For such untimely prohibitions, if they do nothing worse, do at least so much towards teaching and allowing them, that they suppose that children may be guilty of them, who would possibly be safer in the ignorance of any such faults. And the best remedy to stop them, is, as I have said, to show wonder and amazement at any such action as hath a vicious tendency, when it is first taken notice of in a child. For

is to correct errors while they are still corrigible, not to wait until by force of habit they have become ingrained. A teacher should always keep a watchful eye on his youngest classes and on new boys.

example, when he is first found in a lie, or any ill-natured trick, the first remedy should be, to talk to him of it as a strange monstrous matter, that it could not be imagined he would have done, and so shame him out of it.

86. It will be (it is like) objected, that whatsoever I fancy of the tractableness of children, and the prevalency of those softer ways of shame and commendation; yet there are many who will never apply themselves to their books, and to what they ought to learn, unless they are scourged to it. This, I fear, is nothing but the language of ordinary schools and fashion, which have never suffered the other to be tried as it should be, in places where it could be taken notice of. Why else does the learning of Latin and Greek need the rod, when French and Italian need it not? Children learn to dance and fence without whipping; nay, arithmetic, drawing, &c., they apply themselves well enough to without beating: which would make one suspect, that there is something strange, unnatural,<sup>1</sup> and disagreeable to that age, in the things required in grammar-schools, or in the methods used there, that children cannot be brought to, without the severity of the lash, and hardly with that too; or else, that it is a mistake, that those tongues could not be taught them without beating.

<sup>1</sup> Unnatural] Pleasure accompanies the appropriate exercise of every faculty we possess. Children invariably love to exercise their faculties, if we provide suitable objects for those faculties to operate upon. When a child, therefore, dislikes a subject of instruction, it may be safely inferred that the subject is either not a suitable one at the stage of mental culture which he has reached, or else that it is taught in an injudicious way. The fault must lie with the teacher, not with the child. It is as natural, I repeat once more, for a child to find a pleasure in appropriate exercise for his mind as in appropriate exercise for his body. The art of the teacher is to find out appropriate exercises. In the schools of Locke's time the subjects of instruction were ill-chosen and the methods ill-devised. See Introduction.

87. But let us suppose some so negligent or idle, that they will not be brought to learn by the gentle ways proposed, for we must grant, that there will be children found of all tempers ; yet it does not thence follow, that the rough discipline of the cudgel is to be used to all. Nor can any one be concluded unmanageable by the milder methods of government, till they have been thoroughly tried upon him ; and if they will not prevail with him to use his endeavours, and do what is in his power to do, we make no excuses for the obstinate. Blows are the proper remedies for those ; but blows laid on in a way different from the ordinary. He that wilfully neglects his book, and stubbornly refuses any thing he can do, required of him by his father, expressing himself in a positive serious command, should not be corrected with two or three angry lashes, for not performing his task, and the same punishment repeated again and again upon every the like default ; but when it is brought to that pass, that wilfulness evidently shows itself, and makes blows necessary, I think the chastisement should be a little more sedate, and a little more severe, and the whipping (mingled with admonition between) so continued, till the impressions of it on the mind were found legible in the face, voice, and submission of the child, not so sensible of the smart, as of the fault he has been guilty of, and melting in true sorrow under it. If such a correction as this, tried some few times at fit distances, and carried to the utmost severity, with the visible displeasure of the father all the while, will not work the effect, turn the mind, and produce a future compliance, what can be hoped from blows, and to what purpose should they be any more used ? Beating, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the fury of an enraged enemy, than the good-will of a compassionate friend ; and such chastisement

carries with it only provocation, without any prospect of amendment. If it be any father's misfortune to have a son thus perverse and untractable, I know not what more he can do, but pray for him.<sup>1</sup> But, I imaginē, if a right course be taken with children from the beginning, very few will be found to be such ; and when there are any such instances, they are not to be the rule for the education of those who are better natured, and may be managed with better usage.

[SECTION IX. §§ 88-94.]

[NECESSARY QUALIFICATIONS OF A TUTOR.]

88. If a tutor can be got, that thinking himself in the father's place, charged with his care, and relishing these things, will at the beginning apply himself to put them in practice, he will afterwards find his work very easy ; and you will, I guess, have your son in a little time a greater proficient in both learning and breeding, than perhaps you imagine. But let him by no means beat him at any time, without your consent and direction ; at least till you have experience of his discretion and temper. But yet, to keep up his authority with his pupil, besides concealing that he has not the power of the rod, you must be sure to use him with great respect<sup>2</sup> yourself, and cause all your family to do so

<sup>1</sup> **Pray for him]** On this passage Campe remarks : ' And also ask forgiveness of God for himself for having allowed things to come to this pass through his own faults, through his previous foolish treatment of his son. For a child can scarcely ever become so dogged and inflexible without some grievous fault on the part of his parents.'

<sup>2</sup> **Use him with great respect]** For the same reason head-teachers should be careful to show respect to their subordinates. Cowper writes of the treatment due to a worthy tutor :

' But having found him, be thou duke or earl,  
Show thou hast sense enough to prize the pearl,

too : for you cannot expect your son should have any regard for one whom he sees you, or his mother, or others slight. If you think him worthy of contempt, you have chosen amiss ; and if you show any contempt of him, he will hardly escape it from your son : and whenever that happens, whatever worth he may have in himself, and abilities for this employment, they are all lost to your child, and can afterwards never be made useful to him.

89. As the father's example must teach the child respect for his tutor, so the tutor's example must lead the child into those actions he would have him do. His practice must by no means cross his precepts, unless he intend to set him wrong. It will be to no purpose for the tutor to talk of the restraint of the passions, whilst any of his own are let loose ; and he will in vain endeavour to reform any vice or indecency in his pupil, which he allows in himself. Ill patterns are sure to be followed more than good rules ; and therefore he must also carefully preserve

And as thou wouldst the advancement of thine heir  
In all good faculties beneath his care,  
Respect, as is but rational and just,  
A man deemed worthy of so dear a trust.  
Despised by thee, what more can he expect  
From youthful folly than the same neglect ?

(*Tirocinium*, 705-13.)

Montaigne writes on the choice of a tutor : ' I would also have his friends solicitous to find him out a tutor, who has rather an elegant than a learned head, and both, if such a person can be found ; but however to prefer his manners and his judgment before his reading, and that this man should pursue the exercise of his charge after a new method. 'Tis the custom of schoolmasters to be eternally thundering in their pupils' ears, as [though] they were pouring into a funnel, whilst their business is only to repeat what the other have said before ; now I would have a tutor to correct this error, and that at the very first, he should, according to the capacity he has to deal with, put it to the test, permitting his pupil himself to taste and relish things, and of himself to choose and discern them, sometimes opening the way to him, and sometimes making him to break the ice himself ; that is, I would not have him alone to invent and speak, but that he should also hear his pupil speak in turn.'—*Essais*, i. 25.

him from the influence of ill precedents, especially the most dangerous of all, the examples of the servants; from whose company he is to be kept, not by prohibitions, for that will but give him an itch after it, but by other ways I have mentioned.

90. In all the whole business of education, there is nothing like to be less hearkened to, or harder to be well observed, than what I am now going to say; and that is, that children should, from their first beginning to talk, have some discreet, sober, nay, wise person about them, whose care it should be to fashion them aright, and keep them from all ill, especially the infection of bad company. I think this province requires great sobriety, temperance, tenderness, diligence, and discretion; qualities hardly to be found united in persons that are to be had for ordinary salaries, nor easily to be found anywhere. As to the charge of it, I think it will be the money best laid out that can be, about our children; and therefore, though it may be expensive more than is ordinary, yet it cannot be thought dear. He that at any rate procures his child a good mind, well-principled, tempered to virtue and usefulness, and adorned with civility<sup>1</sup> and good breeding, makes a better purchase for him, than if he had laid out the money for an addition of more earth to his former acres.<sup>2</sup> Spare it in toys and play-games, in silk and

<sup>1</sup> **Civility**] i.e. refined manners, politeness. See Note 4, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> 'Locke will not be suspected of affecting any cynical contempt for wealth;—on this point his philosophy is perhaps too indulgent;—but he wisely inculcates the necessity of preferring before it education, which, rightly considered, is only that mental training which enables the opulent to enjoy wealth, and the poor to be happy without it. All real philosophers have admitted,—indeed they could do no otherwise,—the value of riches to those who know how to employ them; but Aristotle, distinguished for his sound common sense, derides the absurd desire of mankind to heap up wealth indefinitely. 'There is a limit,' he observes, 'to the accumulation of wealth for provision, but none to accumulation for gain. The master of a family endeavours by

ribbons, laces, and other useless expenses, as much as you please ; but be not sparing in so necessary a part as this. It is not good husbandry to make his fortune rich, and his mind poor. I have often with great admiration<sup>1</sup> seen people lavish it profusely in tricking up their children in fine clothes, lodging and feeding them sumptuously, allowing them more than enough of useless servants, and at the same time starve their minds, and not take sufficient care to cover that, which is the most shameful nakedness, viz., their natural wrong inclinations and ignorance. This I can look on as no other than a sacrificing to their own vanity, it showing more their pride, than true care of the good of their children : whatsoever you employ to the advantage of your son's mind, will show your true kindness, though it be to the lessening of his estate. A wise and good man can hardly want either the opinion or reality of being great and happy; but he that is foolish or vicious, can be neither great nor happy, what estate soever you leave him : and I ask you, whether there be not men in the world, whom you had rather have your son be with five hundred pounds per annum, than some other<sup>2</sup> you know with five thousand pounds.

91. The consideration of charge ought not therefore to deter those who are able. The great diffi-

economy to provide for his household, and to perpetuate the means of subsistence. The merchant labours merely to increase his riches. But the inordinate desire of money, though they who experience may not be conscious of the fact, is only a sign that other malignant and ill-regulated passions sway the soul, for the gratification of which money is sought.' (*Politics*, l. i. c. 6.) *St. J.*

<sup>1</sup> **Admiration**] i.e. wonder, simple astonishment. 'Admire,' and its congeners, did not formerly imply approbation. Cf. 'And when I saw her, I wondered with great *admiration*.' (Rev. xvii. 6.) 'In man there is nothing *admirable* but his ignorance and weakness.' (J. Taylor.)

<sup>2</sup> **Other**] Formerly used as a plural. Cf. 'Let each esteem *other* better than themselves.' (Phil. ii. 3.)

culty will be where to find a proper person : for those of small age, parts, and virtue, are unfit for this employment, and those that have greater, will hardly be got to undertake such a charge. You must therefore look out early, and inquire everywhere ; for the world has people of all sorts. And I remember Montaigne says, in one of his Essays, that the learned Castalio <sup>1</sup> was fain to make trenchers

<sup>1</sup> 'In what edition, or in what part of the Essays, Locke met with this anecdote, I have been unable to discover ; but probably what is here said of the trencher-making at Bâle may have been found in a note to some old English translation. It might have been expected, that when Montaigne passed through the above city, in his way to Italy, he would have alluded in his journal (published one hundred and eighty years after his death) to the poverty of Castalio, where he mentions the learned men of the place (t. i. pp. 44-58) ; but no allusion to his name occurs. His extreme poverty, and ultimate starvation, are however commemorated, but without any mention of the trencher-making, in his Essays (l. i. ch. 34, tom. ii. p. 270), where he is lamenting the want, throughout Europe, of something like our present system of advertising, which still needs many improvements. "To the great shame of our present age, I hear," he observes, "that, before our eyes, two most excellent learned men have died from not having wherewith to satisfy their hunger : Lilius Gregorius Giralduus in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio in Germany. I think, however, there are thousands of persons, who, had they known their situation, would have received them into their houses on very advantageous conditions, or have relieved them where they were. The world is not so wholly corrupt but that I know many a man, who would most earnestly wish that the wealth his forefathers had placed in his hands, should be employed—as long as it should please fortune to allow him the possession of it—in sheltering from poverty such extraordinary and remarkable persons as misfortune sometimes drives to the utmost extremity ; or, at least, place them in such a state that it would depend only upon the proper use of their own reason to be happy." With regard to Giralduus, Montaigne was misinformed, for, instead of being starved, he died of the gout, and left considerable property behind him. (See his *Life, Opera, folio, Jensis Prolegom.* i. 12. Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 180.)' *St. J.*

Sebastian Castalion, or Chastillon, was born in Dauphiné in 1515. He early acquired a knowledge of ancient languages, and became specially proficient in Greek and Hebrew. For a time he held a professorship at Geneva, but disagreement with Calvin on religious questions compelled him to leave and led to his settling at Basle, where he devoted himself to teaching Greek and to the writing of several works, mainly on religious subjects. His great work was a complete



at Bâle, to keep himself from starving, when his father would have given any money for such a tutor for his son, and Castalio have willingly embraced such an employment upon very reasonable terms ; but this was for want of intelligence.<sup>1</sup>

92. If you find it difficult to meet with such a tutor as we desire, you are not to wonder. I only can say, spare no care or cost to get such a one. All things are to be had that way : and I dare assure you, that if you can get a good one, you will never repent the charge ; but will always have the satisfaction to think it the money, of all other, the best laid out. But be sure take nobody upon friends', or charitable, no, nor bare great commendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the reputation of a sober man, with a good stock of learning, (which is all usually required in a tutor,) will not be enough to serve your turn. In this choice, be as curious<sup>2</sup> as you would be in that of a wife for him ; for you must not think of trial or changing afterwards : that will cause great inconvenience to you, and greater to your son. When I consider the scruples and cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks as if I advised you to something, which I would have offered at, but in effect not done. But he that shall consider how much the business of a tutor, rightly employed, lies

Latin version of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek, which was published in 1551, and dedicated to our own Edward VI. He published a French version in 1555. He passed his latter years in great poverty, and died in 1563. It is related of him that in his old age 'he was in the habit of resorting to the banks of the Rhine or of the Birs when swollen, where with a crook he endeavoured to catch the pieces of wood and branches of trees which the river carried along, in order to procure fuel for his family.' (*Penny Cyclopædia*.) See article 'Castalion,' in Bayle's *Dictionary*, where it is stated that Castalion was obliged to divide his time between his studies and cultivating the earth.

<sup>1</sup> **Intelligence**] i.e. information.

<sup>2</sup> **Curious**] i.e. fastidious, particular.

out of the road, and how remote it is from the thoughts of many, even of those who propose to themselves this employment, will perhaps be of my mind, that one fit to educate and form the mind of a young gentleman, is not everywhere to be found, and that more than ordinary care is to be taken in the choice of him, or else you may fail of your end.

93. The character of a sober man and a scholar, is, as I have above observed, what every one expects in a tutor. This generally is thought enough, and is all that parents commonly look for : but when such a one has emptied out into his pupil all the Latin and logic he has brought from the university, will that furniture make him a fine gentleman? Or can it be expected, that he should be better bred, better skilled in the world, better principled in the grounds and foundations of true virtue and generosity, than his young tutor is?

To form a young gentleman as he should be, it is fit his governor should himself be well-bred, understand the ways of carriage, and measures of civility<sup>1</sup> in all the variety of persons, times, and places, and keep his pupil, as much as his age requires, constantly to the observation of them. This is an art not to be learned or taught by books. Nothing can give it, but good company, and observation joined together. The tailor may make his clothes modish,<sup>2</sup> and the dancing-master give fashion to his motions ; yet neither of these, though they set off well, make a well-bred gentleman. No, though he have learning, to boot, which, if not well managed, makes him more impertinent and intolerable in conversation. Breeding is that which sets a gloss upon all his other good qualities, and renders them useful to him, in pro-

<sup>1</sup> Measures of civility] i.e. the different forms of courtesy required under different circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> Modish] i.e. fashionable, according to the *mode*.

curing him the esteem and good-will of all that he comes near. Without good breeding, his other accomplishments make him pass but for proud, conceited, ~~vain, or foolish~~.

Courage in an ill-bred man, has the air, and escapes not the opinion of brutality. Learning becomes pedantry; wit, buffoonery; plainness, rusticity; good nature, fawning. And there cannot be a good quality in him, which want of breeding will not warp, and disfigure to his disadvantage. Nay, virtue and parts, though they are allowed their due commendation, yet are not enough to procure a man a good reception, and make him welcome wherever he comes. Nobody contents himself with rough diamonds, and wears them so, who would appear with advantage. When they are polished and set, then they give a lustre. Good qualities are the substantial riches of the mind, but it is good breeding sets them off: and he that will be acceptable, must give beauty, as well as strength, to his actions. Solidity, or even usefulness, is not enough: a graceful way and fashion in every thing, is that which gives the ornament and liking. And in most cases, the manner of doing is of more consequence than the thing done; and upon that depends the satisfaction or disgust<sup>1</sup> wherewith it is received. This therefore, which lies not in the putting off the hat, nor making of compliments, but in a due and free composure<sup>2</sup> of language, looks, motion, posture, place, &c. suited to persons and occasions, and can be learned only by habit and use, though it be above the capacity of children, and little ones should not be perplexed about it, yet it ought to

<sup>1</sup> **Disgust**] i.e. distaste, dislike. This word did not formerly imply so strong a dislike as at present.

<sup>2</sup> **A due and free composure**] i.e. a proper and easy combination or adjustment. 'Composure' had not yet come to be applied exclusively to the mind.

be begun, and in a good measure learned by a young gentleman whilst he is under a tutor, before he comes into the world upon his own legs: for then usually it is too late to hope to reform several habitual indecencies,<sup>1</sup> which lie in little things. For the carriage is not as it should be, till it is become natural in every part, falling, as skilful musicians' fingers do, into harmonious order without care, and without thought. If in conversation a man's mind be taken up with a solicitous watchfulness about any part of his behaviour, instead of being mended by it, it will be constrained, uneasy, and ungraceful.

Besides, this part is most necessary to be formed by the hands and care of a governor, because though the errors committed in breeding are the first that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the last that any one is told of: not but that the malice of the world is forward enough to tattle of them; but it is always out of his hearing, who should make profit of their judgment, and reform himself by their censure. And indeed, this is so nice a point to be meddled with, that even those who are friends, and wish it were mended, scarce ever dare mention it, and tell those they love, that they are guilty in such or such cases of ill-breeding. Errors in other things may often with civility be shown another; and it is no breach of good manners or friendship, to set him right in other mistakes: but good-breeding itself allows not a man to touch upon this, or to insinuate to another, that he is guilty of want of breeding. Such information can come only from those who have authority over them; and from them too it comes very hardly and harshly to a grown man: and however softened, goes but ill down with any one, who has lived ever so little in the world. Wherefore it is necessary, that this part should be the governor's

<sup>1</sup> **Indecencies]** i.e. actions which are unbecoming.

principal care, that an habitual gracefulness, and politeness in all his carriage, may be settled in his charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his hands; and that he may not need advice in this point, when he has neither time nor disposition to receive it, nor has any body left to give it him, the tutor therefore ought in the first place to be well-bred: and a young gentleman, who gets this one qualification from his governor, sets out with great advantage, and will find that this one accomplishment will more open his way to him, get him more friends, and carry him further in the world, than all the hard words, or real knowledge<sup>1</sup> he has got from the liberal arts, or his tutor's learned Encyclopædia. Not that those should be neglected, but by no means preferred, or suffered to thrust out the other.

✓ 94. Besides being well-bred, the tutor should know the world well: the ways, the humours, the follies, the cheats, the faults of the age he has fallen into, and particularly of the country he lives in. These he should be able to show to his pupil, as he finds him capable; teach him skill in men, and their manners; pull off the mask which their several callings and pretences cover them with, and make his pupil discern what lies at the bottom,

<sup>1</sup> **Real knowledge**] i.e. knowledge of *things* as opposed to mere verbal knowledge. The word *real* (Lat. *res*, a thing) is still used in this connexion in German. It occurs again in § 169: 'The learning of Latin being nothing but the learning of words, a very unpleasant business both to young and old, join as much other *real* knowledge with it as you can, beginning still with that which lies most obvious to the senses; such as the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals,' &c. It is much to be regretted that this use of 'real,' except in the phrase 'real presence,' where it now constantly misleads, has become obsolete. Hallam says: 'The phrase "real presence" is never, I believe, used by our writers of the 16th age, but as synonymous with "corporal," and consequently is condemned by them.' See *Hist. of England*, ii. 63, note c.

under such appearances, that he may not, as unexperienced young men are apt to do, if they are unwarned, take one thing for another, judge by the outside, and give himself up to show, and the insinuation of a fair carriage, or an obliging application.<sup>1</sup> A governor should teach his scholar to guess at, and beware of the designs of men he hath to do with, neither with too much suspicion, nor too much confidence; but as the young man is by nature most inclined to either side, rectify him, and bend him the other way. He should accustom him to make, as much as is possible, a true judgment of men by those marks which serve best to show what they are, and give a prospect into their inside, which often shows itself in little things, especially when they are not in parade, and upon their guard. He should acquaint him with the true state of the world, and dispose him to think no man better or worse, wiser or foolisher, than really he is. Thus by safe and insensible degrees, he will pass from a boy to a man; which is the most hazardous step in all the whole course of life. This therefore should be carefully watched, and a young man with great diligence handed over it; and not as now usually is done, be taken from a governor's conduct, and all at once thrown into the world under his own, not without manifest dangers of immediate spoiling; there being nothing more frequent than instances of the great looseness, extravagancy, and debauchery, which young men have run into as soon as they have been let loose from a severe and strict education: which I think may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of breeding, especially in this part; for having been bred up in a great ignorance of what the world truly is, and finding it quite another thing, when they come into it, than

<sup>1</sup> An obliging application] A flattering obsequiousness. What was expressed in Latin by the word *assentatio*.

what they were taught it should be, and so imagined it was, are easily persuaded, by other kind of tutors, which they are sure to meet with, that the discipline they were kept under, and the lectures read to them, were but the formalities of education, and the restraints of childhood; that the freedom belonging to men, is to take their swing in a full enjoyment of what was before forbidden them. They show the young novice the world, full of fashionable and glittering examples of this everywhere, and he is presently<sup>1</sup> dazzled with them. My young master failing not to be willing to show himself a man, as much as any of the sparks of his years, lets himself loose to all the irregularities he finds in the most debauched; and thus courts credit and manliness, in casting off the modesty and sobriety he has till then been kept in; and thinks it brave, at his first setting out, to signalise himself in running counter to all the rules of virtue which have been preached to him by his tutor.

The showing him the world as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the best means, I think, to prevent this mischief. He should by degrees be informed of the vices in fashion, and warned of the applications<sup>2</sup> and designs of those who will make it their business to corrupt him. He should be told the arts they use, and the trains they lay; and now and then have set before him the tragical or ridiculous examples of those who are ruining or ruined this way. The age is not like to want instances of this kind, which should be made land-marks to him, that by the disgraces, diseases, beggary, and shame of hopeful young men, thus brought to ruin, he may be cautioned, and be made to see, how those join in the contempt and

<sup>1</sup> **Presently]** i.e. forthwith.

<sup>2</sup> **Applications]** i.e. modes of approach.

neglect of them that are undone, who by pretences of friendship and respect, lead them into it, and help to prey upon them whilst they are undoing :<sup>1</sup> that he may see, before he buys it by a too dear experience, that those who persuade him not to follow the sober advices he has received from his governors, and the counsel of his own reason, which they call being governed by others, do it only that they may have the government of him themselves : and make him believe, he goes like a man of himself, by his own conduct, and for his own pleasure, when in truth he is wholly as a child led by them into those vices which best serve their purposes. This is a knowledge, which, upon all occasions, a tutor should endeavour to instil, and by all methods try to make him comprehend, and thoroughly relish.

I know it is often said, that to discover to a young man the vices of the age, is to teach them him. That, I confess, is a good deal so, according as it is done ; and therefore requires a discreet man of parts, who knows the world, and can judge of the temper, inclination, and weak side of his pupil. This farther is to be remembered, that it is not possible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young gentleman from vice, by a total ignorance of it, unless you will all his life mue<sup>2</sup> him up in a closet, and never let him go into company. The longer he is kept thus hood-winked,<sup>3</sup> the less he will see when he comes abroad into open day-light, and be the more exposed to be a

<sup>1</sup> **Undoing]** i.e. being ruined.

<sup>2</sup> **Mue]** i.e. confine, keep close. The *mew* of a hawk was the place where it was kept whilst moulting (Lat. *muto*, to change). The *Royal Mews* may have been so called because hawks were formerly kept there. Wedgwood thinks that the modern meaning of *mews*, viz. stables, arose from the transference of the name 'mews' from the Royal Stables to other stables.

<sup>3</sup> **Hood-winked]** The metaphor was probably suggested by the previous reference to 'muing.' 'Hood' was the name given to the covering for a falcon's head.



prey to himself and others. And an old boy,<sup>1</sup> at his first appearance, with all the gravity of his ivy-bush<sup>2</sup> about him, is sure to draw on him the eyes and chirping of the whole town volery;<sup>3</sup> amongst which, there will not be wanting some birds of prey, that will presently be on the wing for him.

The only fence against the world, is, a thorough knowledge of it, into which a young gentleman should be entered by degrees, as he can bear it; and the earlier the better, so he be in safe and skilful hands to guide him. The scene should be gently opened, and his entrance made step by step, and the dangers pointed out that attend him, from the several degrees,<sup>4</sup> tempers, designs and clubs<sup>5</sup> of men. He should be prepared to be shocked by some, and caressed by others; warned who are like to oppose, who to mislead, who to undermine him, and who to serve him. He should be instructed how to know and distinguish them; where he should let them see, and when dissemble the knowledge of them and their aims and workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own strength and skill, the perplexity and trouble of a misadventure now and then, that reaches not his innocence, his health, or reputation, may not be an ill way to teach him more caution.

This, I confess, containing one great part of wisdom, is not the product of some superficial thoughts, or much reading; but the effect of expe-

<sup>1</sup> **An old boy]** i.e. a young man with the simplicity of a boy.

<sup>2</sup> **Ivy-bush]** The metaphor is taken from the appearance of an owl or other bird of prey when he quits his ivy-bush and is pursued by small birds. Dr. Schuster wrongly supposes that there is a reference here to the practice observed by Greek and Roman revellers of crowning themselves with ivy.

<sup>3</sup> **Volery]** A flight of birds. From Fr. *voler*, to fly.

<sup>4</sup> **Degrees]** i.e. ranks, grades.

<sup>5</sup> **Clubs]** i.e. confederacies.

rience and observation in a man, who has lived in the world with his eyes open, and conversed<sup>1</sup> with men of all sorts: and therefore I think it of most value to be instilled into a young man, upon all occasions which offer themselves, that when he comes to launch into the deep himself, he may not be like one at sea without a line, compass, or sea-chart; but may have some notice beforehand of the rocks and shoals, the currents and quicksands, and know a little how to steer, that he sink not before he get experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his son, and for which he more needs a governor, than the languages and learned sciences, forgets of how much more use it is to judge right of men, and manage his affairs wisely with them, than to speak Greek and Latin, or argue in mood and figure;<sup>2</sup> or to have his head filled with the abstruse speculations of natural philosophy<sup>3</sup> and metaphysics; nay, than to be well versed in Greek and Roman writers, though that be much better for a gentleman than to be a good Peripatetic<sup>4</sup> or Cartesian,<sup>5</sup> because those ancient authors observed and painted mankind well, and give the best light into that kind of knowledge. He that goes into the eastern parts of Asia, will find able and

<sup>1</sup> **Conversed]** i.e. associated. See note I, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> **In mood and figure]** i.e. with the technicalities of logic. The 'mood' of a syllogism is the formal expression of its three propositions considered with reference to their quantity, quality, and relation. The 'figure' of a syllogism depends on the position of the middle term in the premisses.

<sup>3</sup> **Natural philosophy]** It is clear, from the words, 'abstruse speculations,' that Locke does not mean what we should now call 'physical science,' but those systems which, neglecting the explanation of natural phenomena separately, attempted to account for the universe as a whole.

<sup>4</sup> **Peripatetic]** (from *περιπατέω*, to walk about) a name given to Aristotle and his followers because he used to teach while walking about the open spaces of the Lyceum at Athens.

<sup>5</sup> **Cartesian]** A disciple of Descartes, the great French philosopher (1596-1650).

✓ acceptable men without any of these ; but without virtue, knowledge of the world, and civility, an accomplished and valuable man can be found nowhere.

A great part of the learning now in fashion in the schools of Europe, and that goes ordinarily into the round of education, a gentleman may in a good measure be unfurnished with, without any great disparagement to himself, or prejudice to his affairs. But prudence<sup>1</sup> and good-breeding are in all the stations and occurrences of life necessary ; and most young men suffer in the want of them, and come rawer and more awkward into the world, than they should, for this very reason, because these qualities, which are of all others the most necessary to be taught, and stand most in need of the assistance and help of a teacher, are generally neglected and thought but a slight, or no part of a tutor's business. Latin and learning make all the noise ; and the main stress is laid upon his proficiency in things, a great part whereof belong not to a gentleman's calling ;<sup>2</sup> which is to have the knowledge of a man of business, a carriage suitable to his rank, and to be eminent and useful in his country, according to his station. Whenever either spare hours from that, or an inclination to perfect himself in some parts of knowledge, which his

<sup>1</sup> **Prudence]** 'This reminds Campe of the passage in Galen (*De Aff. Curandis*) : "It is shameful that we should work and practise many years uninterruptedly in order to become a good grammarian, orator, mathematician, or physician, and do nothing to become a good man." ' S.

<sup>2</sup> **A gentleman's calling]** It will be observed that Locke pays no regard to the disinterested culture of the mind. Yet the *man* should not be lost sight of in the *gentleman*. It was necessary, perhaps, in Locke's time to urge the importance of the more practical parts of education, but it is much to be regretted that he allowed himself to take so narrow a view of this great subject. It surely belongs to a gentleman's calling to possess not merely 'the knowledge of a man of business,' but some knowledge of subjects which contribute to the enlarging and refining of the mind, even though they may not possess any utility from a business point of view.

tutor did but just enter him in, set him upon any study, the first rudiments of it, which he learned before, will open the way enough for his own industry to carry him as far as his fancy will prompt, or his parts enable him to go. Or, if he thinks it may save his time and pains to be helped over some difficulties by the hand of a master, he may then take a man that is perfectly well skilled in it, or choose such a one as he think fittest for his purpose. But to initiate his pupil in any part of learning, as far as is necessary for a young man in the ordinary course of his studies, an ordinary skill<sup>1</sup> in the governor is enough. Nor is it requisite that he should be a thorough scholar, or possess in perfection all those sciences which it is convenient a young gentleman should have a taste of in some general view, or short system. A gentleman that would penetrate deeper must do it by his own genius and industry afterwards: for nobody ever went far in knowledge, or became eminent in any of the sciences, by the discipline and constraint of a master.

The great work of a governor, is to fashion the carriage, and form the mind; to settle in his pupil good habits, and the principles of virtue and wisdom; to give him by little and little a view of mankind, and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy; and, in the prosecution of it, to give him vigour, activity, and industry. The studies, which he sets him upon, are but as it were the exercises of his faculties, and employment of his time, to keep him from sauntering<sup>2</sup> and idleness, to teach him application, and accustom him to take pains, and

<sup>1</sup> An ordinary skill] 'Education being the strong, and instruction the weak, side of the private system recommended by Locke, he naturally lays too little stress on the *knowledge* of the tutor, whereas public schools attach far too little value to the teacher's educational *tact* and the character needed for such tact.' S.

<sup>2</sup> Sauntering] Locke uses this word in the sense of *dawdling*.

to give him some little taste of what his own industry must perfect. For who expects, that under a tutor a young gentleman should be an accomplished critic, orator, or logician? go to the bottom of metaphysics, natural philosophy, or mathematics? or be a master in history or chronology? though something of each of these is to be taught him: but it is only to open the door that he may look in, and as it were begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there: and a governor would be much blamed that should keep his pupil too long, and lead him too far in most of them.<sup>1</sup> But of good-breeding, knowledge of the world, virtue, industry, and a love of reputation, he cannot have too much: and if he have these, he will not long want what he needs or desires of the other.

And since it cannot be hoped he should have time and strength to learn all things, most pains should be taken about that which is most necessary; and that principally looked after, which will be of most and frequentest use to him in the world.

Seneca complains of the contrary practice in his time; and yet the Burgersdiciuses and the Scheiblers<sup>2</sup> did not swarm in those days, as they do now in these. What would he have thought, if he had lived now when the tutors think it their great business to fill the studies and heads of their pupils with such

<sup>1</sup> 'Locke by no means intends, in this place, that a youth should rest content with a superficial knowledge of the sciences he has enumerated above; but that, having obtained from his preceptor glimpses of the beauties which an ingenuous mind discovers in philosophy he should be left to follow out, thereafter, and at his leisure, whatever branch of learning might obtain his preference.' *St. J.*

<sup>2</sup> The Burgersdiciuses and the Scheiblers] Burgersdicius and Scheibler were two writers on logic and metaphysics, whose text-books were much in vogue in Locke's time. Hallam says incidentally of the former: 'None, however, of the logical works of the sixteenth century obtained such reputation as those by Smiglecius, Burgersdicius, and our countryman Crawkanthorp, all of whom flourished, if we may use such a word for those who bore no flowers, in the earlier part of the next age.' (*Lit. Hist.* iii. 6.)

authors as these? He would have had much more reason to say, as he does, *Non vitæ<sup>1</sup> sed scholæ discimus*, 'we learn not to live, but to dispute;' and our education fits us rather for the university, than the world. But it is no wonder if those who make the fashion, suit it to what they have,<sup>2</sup> and not to what their pupils want. The fashion being once established, who can think it strange, that in this, as well as in all other things, it should prevail? And that the greatest part of those, who find their account in an easy submission to it, should be ready to cry out, heresy, when any one departs from it? It is nevertheless matter of astonishment, that men of quality and parts should suffer themselves to be so far misled by custom and implicit faith. Reason, if consulted with, would advise that their children's time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful<sup>3</sup> to them when they

<sup>1</sup> *Non vitæ*, &c.] 'We learn not for life but for the school,' is the complaint with which Seneca concludes his 106th Letter to Lucilius. The passage begins: 'As in all things, so in the sciences, we suffer from excess, &c.' S.

<sup>2</sup> *What they have*] Any radical reform in the education given at our schools must begin with a reform in the education given at our universities. As long as teachers knew nothing but Latin and Greek, it is not surprising that they taught only Latin and Greek. Locke does not point out that the evil arising from the limitation of the teacher's knowledge is necessarily much greater in private education than in a public school, where one specialist supplements the deficiency of another.

<sup>3</sup> *Useful*] This is a narrow view of education. The aim of the teacher should be rather to develop power than to communicate knowledge. Some kinds of knowledge are mainly valuable as instruments of discipline, and when they have served their purpose may be thrown aside. It would, of course, be an economy to teach subjects that were at the same time valuable as knowledge and valuable as an intellectual gymnastic. A judge has little occasion to utilise the higher mathematics or his knowledge of classical literature, but nobody will doubt that the discipline of his reasoning powers obtained through the former, and the accuracy and refinement of language obtained through the latter, are as directly useful to him as a knowledge of chemistry is to a chemist. Every kind of education is to be tested by the effect of it as a whole in fitting a man for what Mr. Herbert Spencer calls

come to be men, rather than to have their heads stuffed with a deal of trash, a great part whereof they usually never do (it is certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and so much of it as does stick by them, they are only the worse for. This is so well known, that I appeal to parents themselves, who have been at cost to have their young heirs taught it, whether it be not ridiculous for their sons to have any tincture of that sort of learning, when they come abroad into the world? whether any appearance of it would not lessen and disgrace them in company? And that certainly must be an admirable acquisition, and deserves well to make a part in education, which men are ashamed of, where they are most concerned to show their parts and breeding.

There is yet another reason why politeness of manners, and knowledge of the world should principally be looked after in a tutor; and that is, because a man of parts and years may enter a lad far enough in any of those sciences, which he has no deep insight into himself.<sup>1</sup> Books in these will be able to furnish him, and give him light and precedency enough to go before a young follower: but he will never be able to set another right in the knowledge of the world, and above all in breeding, who is a novice in them himself.

This is a knowledge he must have about him, 'complete living'—not merely by the fitness it produces for discharging the duties of a particular post or rank in life.

<sup>1</sup> No deep insight into himself] No one can teach what he does not know, and no one can teach well who does not know a great deal more than he has to teach. It is sometimes contended that a teacher who is not too far ahead of his pupils is better able to enter into their difficulties than more learned teachers, who have forgotten where the difficulties lie which children encounter, and advance faster than their pupils can follow them; and there is some truth in this. On the other hand, he who knows a subject on one side only can teach it on that side only. To teach it well he must know it all round, and be able to present it to his pupils on the easiest side, and, if need be, on many sides.

worn into him by use and conversation, and a long forming himself by what he has observed to be practised and allowed in the best company. This, if he has it not of his own, is nowhere to be borrowed for the use of his pupil; or if he could find pertinent treatises of it in books, that would reach all the particulars of an English gentleman's behaviour, his own ill-fashioned example, if he be not well bred himself, would spoil all his lectures: it being impossible, that any one should come forth well fashioned out of unpolished, ill-bred company.

I say this, not that I think such a tutor is every day to be met with, or to be had at the ordinary rates; but that those who are able, may not be sparing of inquiry or cost in what is of so great moment; and that other parents, whose estates will not reach to greater salaries, may yet remember what they should principally have an eye to in the choice of one to whom they would commit the education of their children; and what part they should chiefly look after themselves, whilst they are under their care, and as often as they come within their observation; and not think that all lies in Latin and French, or some dry systems of logic and philosophy.

[SECTION X. §§ 95-99.]

[ON THE FAMILIARITY OF PARENTS WITH THEIR CHILDREN.]

95. But to return to our method again. Though I have mentioned the severity of the father's brow, and the awe settled thereby in the mind of children when young, as one main instrument whereby their education is to be managed; yet I am far from being of an opinion, that it should be continued all along



to them, whilst they are under the discipline and government of pupilage; I think it should be relaxed,<sup>1</sup> as fast as their age, discretion and good behaviour could allow it; even to that degree, that a father will do well, as his son grows up, and is capable of it, to talk familiarly with him; nay, ask his advice, and consult with him about those things wherein he has any knowledge or understanding. By this, the father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is, that it will put serious considerations into his son's thoughts, better than any rules or advices he can give him. The sooner you treat him as a man, the sooner he will begin to be one: and if you admit him into serious discourses sometimes with you, you will insensibly raise his mind above the usual amusements of youth, and those trifling occupations which it is commonly wasted in. For it is easy to observe, that many young men continue longer in the thought and conversation of school-boys, than otherwise they would, because their parents keep them at that distance, and in that low rank, by all their carriage to them.

96. Another thing of greater consequence, which you will obtain by such a way of treating him, will be his friendship. Many fathers, though they proportion to their sons liberal allowances, according to their age and condition, yet they keep the knowledge of their estates and concerns from them, with as much reservedness, as if they were guarding a secret of state from a spy or an enemy. This, if it looks not like jealousy, yet it wants those marks of kindness and intimacy which a father should show to his son, and no doubt often hinders or abates that cheerfulness

<sup>1</sup> Relaxed] This was the rule observed by Locke's own father. See Life of Locke, p. 1. Many of Locke's remarks on this subject were anticipated by Montaigne. (See *Essais*, ii. 8, *De l'affection des pères aux enfants*.)

and satisfaction wherewith a son should address himself to, and rely upon his father. And I cannot but often wonder to see fathers, who love their sons very well, yet so order the matter by a constant stiffness, and a mien of authority and distance to them all their lives, as if they were never to enjoy, or have any comfort from those they love best in the world, till they had lost them, by being removed into another. Nothing cements and establishes friendship and goodwill, so much as confident communication of concerns and affairs. Other kindnesses, without this, leave still some doubts : but when your son sees you open your mind to him, when he finds that you interest him in your affairs, as things you are willing should in their turns come into his hands, he will be concerned for them as for his own, wait his season with patience, and love you in the meantime, who keep him not at the distance of a stranger. This will also make him see, that the enjoyment you have, is not without care ; which the more he is sensible of, the less will he envy you the possession, and the more think himself happy under the management of so favourable a friend and so careful a father. There is scarce any young man of so little thought, or so void of sense, that would not be glad of a sure friend, that he might have recourse to, and freely consult on occasion. The reservedness and distance that fathers keep, often deprive their sons of that refuge, which would be of more advantage to them, than a hundred rebukes and chidings. Would your son engage in some frolic, or take a vagary, were it not much better he should do it with, than without your knowledge ? For since allowances for such things must be made to young men, the more you know of his intrigues and designs, the better will you be able to prevent great mischiefs ; and by letting him see what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to

avoid less inconveniences. Would you have him open his heart to you, and ask your advice? you must begin to do so with him first, and by your carriage beget that confidence.

97. But whatever he consults you about, unless it lead to some fatal and irremediable mischief, be sure you advise only as a friend of more experience; but with your advice mingle nothing of command or authority, nor more than you would to your equal, or a stranger. That would be to drive him for ever from any further demanding, or receiving advantage from your counsel. You must consider that he is a young man, and has pleasures and fancies which you are past. You must not expect his inclination should be just as yours, nor that at twenty he should have the same thoughts you have at fifty. All that you can wish, is, that since youth must have some liberty, some out-leaps, they might be with the ingenuity<sup>1</sup> of a son, and under the eye of a father, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I said before, is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your affairs, propose matters to him familiarly, and ask his advice; and when he ever lights on the right, follow it as his; and if it succeed well, let him have the commendation. This will not at all lessen your authority, but increase his love and esteem of you. Whilst you keep your estate, the staff will still be in your own hands; and your authority the surer, the more it is strengthened

<sup>1</sup> **Ingenuity** i.e. ingenuousness, straightforwardness. For a time 'ingenious' and 'ingenuous,' 'ingenuity' and 'ingenuousness' were used very confusedly. 'In respect of "ingenious" and "ingenuous,"' says Archbishop Trench, 'the arrangement at which we have now arrived regarding their several meanings, viz. that the first indicates mental, the second moral qualities, is good, "ingenious" being from "ingenium" [innate character, natural ability], and "ingenuous" from "ingenuus" [free-born, worthy of a freeman].' Comp.: 'Christian simplicity teaches openness and ingenuity in contracts and matters of buying and selling.' (Jeremy Taylor.) See Trench's *Select Glossary*.

with confidence and kindness. For you have not that power you ought to have over him, till he comes to be more afraid of offending so good a friend, than of losing some part of his future expectation.

98. Familiarity of discourse, if it can become a father to his son, may much more be condescended to by a tutor to his pupil. All their time together should not be spent in reading of lectures, and magisterially dictating to him, what he is to observe and follow. Hearing him in his turn, and using him to reason about what is proposed, will make the rules go down the easier, and sink the deeper, and will give him a liking to study and instruction: and he will then begin to value knowledge, when he sees that it enables him to discourse, and he finds the pleasure and credit of bearing a part in the conversation, and of having his reasons sometimes approved, and hearkened to; particularly in morality, prudence, and breeding,<sup>1</sup> cases should be put to him, and his judgment asked. This opens the understanding better than maxims, how well soever explained, and settles the rules better in the memory for practice. This way lets things into the mind, which stick there, and retain their evidence with them; whereas words at best are faint representations, being not so much as the true shadows of things, and are much sooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the foundations and measures of decency<sup>2</sup> and justice, and have livelier, and more lasting impressions of what he ought to do, by giving his opinion on cases proposed, and reasoning with his tutor on fit instances, than by giving a silent, negligent, sleepy audience to his tutor's lectures; and much more than by captious

<sup>1</sup> **Breeding**] i.e. good-breeding, questions of propriety.

<sup>2</sup> **Foundations and measures of decency, &c.**] i.e. the principles upon which what is fitting rests, and the forms in which those principles should be applied in particular cases. 'Decency,' that which is fitting.

logical disputes, or set declamations of his own, upon any question. The one<sup>1</sup> sets the thoughts upon wit and false colours,<sup>2</sup> and not upon truth; the other teaches fallacy, wrangling, and opiniatry;<sup>3</sup> and they are both of them things that spoil the judgment, and put a man out of the way of right and fair reasoning; and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who would improve himself, and be acceptable to others.

[REVERENCE.]

99. When by making your son sensible that he depends on you, and is in your power, you have established your authority; and by being inflexibly severe in your carriage to him, when obstinately persisting in any ill-natured<sup>4</sup> trick which you have forbidden, especially lying, you have imprinted on his mind that awe which is necessary: and, on the other side, when (by permitting him the full liberty due to his age, and laying no restraint in your presence to those childish actions and gaiety of carriage, which, whilst he is very young, is as necessary to him as meat or sleep) you have reconciled him to your company, and made him sensible of your care and love of him by indulgence and tenderness, especially caressing him on all occasions wherein he does any thing well, and being kind to him after a thousand fashions, suitable to his age, which nature teaches parents better than I can: when, I say, by these ways of tenderness and affection, which parents never want for their children, you have also planted in him a particular affection for you; he is then in the state you could desire, and you have formed in his mind

<sup>1</sup> The one] viz. 'set declamations.' 'The other,' viz. 'captious logical disputes.'

<sup>2</sup> Wit and false colours] i.e. mere empty rhetoric.

<sup>3</sup> Opiniatry] i.e. a wrong-headed attachment to one's own opinions.

<sup>4</sup> Ill-natured] i.e. perverse. See note 1, p. 169. So in § 100.

that true reverence which is always afterwards carefully to be continued, and maintained in both parts of it, love and fear, as the great principles whereby you will always have hold upon him, to turn his mind to the ways of virtue and honour.

[SECTION XI. §§ 100-102.]

[ON THE DIFFERENT TEMPER OF CHILDREN.]

100. When this foundation is once well laid, and you find this reverence begin to work in him, the next thing to be done, is carefully to consider his temper, and the particular constitution of his mind. Stubbornness, lying, and ill-natured actions, are not (as has been said) to be permitted in him from the beginning, whatever his temper be. Those seeds of vices are not to be suffered to take any root, but must be carefully weeded out, as soon as ever they begin to show themselves in him; and your authority is to take place, and influence his mind, from the very dawning of any knowledge in him, that it may operate as a natural principle, whereof he never perceived the beginning, never knew that it was, or could be otherwise. By this, if the reverence he owes you be established early, it will always be sacred to him, and it will be as hard for him to resist it, as the principles of his nature.

101. Having thus very early set up your authority, and by the gentler applications of it, shamed him out of what leads towards any immoral habit, as soon as you have observed it in him, (for I would by no means have chiding used, much less blows, till obstinacy and incorrigibleness make it absolutely necessary,) it will be fit to consider which way the natural make of his mind inclines him. Some men,

by the unalterable frame of their constitutions are stout,<sup>1</sup> others timorous, some confident, others modest, tractable, or obstinate, curious or careless, quick or slow. There are not more differences in men's faces, and the outward lineaments of their bodies, than there are in the makes and tempers of their minds; only there is this difference, that the distinguishing characters of the face, and the lineaments of the body, grow more plain and visible with time and age; but the peculiar physiognomy of the mind is most discernible in children, before art and cunning hath taught them to hide their deformities, and conceal their ill inclinations under a dissembled outside.

102. Begin therefore betimes nicely<sup>2</sup> to observe your son's temper; and that, when he is under least restraint in his play, and as he thinks out of your sight, see what are his predominant<sup>3</sup> passions and prevailing inclinations; whether he be fierce or mild, bold or bashful, compassionate or cruel, open or reserved, &c. For as these are different in him, so are your methods to be different, and your authority must hence take measures to apply itself different ways to him. These native<sup>4</sup> propensities, these prevalencies of constitution, are not to be cured by rules, or a direct contest, especially those of them that are the humbler and meaner sort, which proceed from fear, and lowness of spirit, though with art they may be much mended, and turned to good purposes. But this, be sure, after all is done, the bias<sup>5</sup> will always

<sup>1</sup> **Stout**] i.e. bold. Cf. : 'Your words have been *stout* against me.' (Mal. iii. 13.)

<sup>2</sup> **Nicely**] i.e. closely, minutely.

<sup>3</sup> **Predominant**] So the octavos of 1693 and 1699. The folio of 1714 reads 'predominate,' which is found in all subsequent editions.

<sup>4</sup> **Native**] i.e. innate.

<sup>5</sup> **Bias**] The metaphor is from the game of bowls. A 'bias' is a weight lodged on the side of a bowl that makes it turn from the line in which the bowl is impelled. Hence a leaning of the mind. 'To run

hang on that side that nature first placed it : and if you carefully observe the characters<sup>1</sup> of his mind, now in the first scenes of his life, you will ever after be able to judge which way his thoughts lean, and what he aims at even hereafter, when, as he grows up, the plot thickens, and he puts on several shapes to act it.

[SECTION XII. §§ 103-110.]

[ON THE SELF-WILL OF CHILDREN.]

- ✓ 103. I told you before, that children love liberty ; and therefore they should be brought to do the things that are fit for them, without feeling any restraint laid upon them. I now tell you, they love something more, and that is dominion : and this is the first original of most vicious habits, that are ordinary and ✓ natural. This love of power and dominion, shows itself very early, and that in these two things.

104. 1. We see children, as soon almost as they are born, (I am sure long before they can speak,) cry, grow peevish, sullen, and out of humour, for nothing but to have their wills. They would have their desires submitted to by others ; they contend for a ready compliance from all about them, especially from those that stand near, or beneath them in age or degree, as soon as they come to consider others with those distinctions.

105. Another thing wherein they show their love of dominion, is, their desire to have things to be theirs : they would have property and possession,<sup>2</sup>

against the bias<sup>1</sup> was formerly used proverbially in the sense of going against one's natural tastes and aptitudes. Cf. : 'My fortune runs against the bias.' (*Rich. II.* ii. 3.)

<sup>1</sup> **Characters**] i.e. characteristics, peculiarities, distinctive marks. Gr. *χαρακτήρ*, the impress or stamp on coins, seals, &c.

<sup>2</sup> **Property and possession**] These are instincts, and as such are



pleasing themselves with the power which that seems to give, and the right they thereby have to dispose of them as they please. He that has not observed these two humours working very betimes in children, has taken little notice of their actions : and he who thinks that these two roots of almost all the injustice and contention that so disturb human life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary habits introduced, neglects the proper season to lay the foundations of a good and worthy man. To do this, I imagine these following things may somewhat conduce.

106. 1. That a child should never be suffered to have what he craves, much less what he cries for I had said, or so much as speaks for : but that being apt to be misunderstood, and interpreted as if I meant a child should never speak to his parents for any thing, which will perhaps be thought to lay too great a curb on the minds of children, to the prejudice of that love and affection which should be between them and their parents ; I shall explain myself a little more particularly. It is fit that they should have liberty to declare their wants to their parents, and that with all tenderness they should be hearkened to, and supplied, at least whilst they are very little. But it is one thing to say, I am hungry, another to say, I would have roast meat. Having declared their wants, their natural wants, the pain they feel from hunger, thirst, cold, or any other necessity of nature, it is the duty of their parents, and those about them, to relieve them : but children must leave it to the choice and ordering of their parents, what they think properest for them, and how much ; and must not be permitted to choose for themselves, and say, I would

not to be crushed out, but trained and gratified within their proper limits. They may be made powerful stimuli to industry and self-denial. There may even be cases in which it would be desirable to strengthen the instinct of property.

have wine, or white bread ; the very naming of it<sup>1</sup> should make them lose it.

107. That which parents should take care of here, is to distinguish between the wants of fancy,<sup>2</sup> and those of nature ; which Horace has well taught them to do in this verse :—

*Queis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.*<sup>3</sup>

Those are truly natural wants, which reason alone, without some other help, is not able to fence against, nor keep from disturbing us. The pains of sickness and hurts, hunger, thirst, and cold, want of sleep, and rest or relaxation of the part wearied with labour, are what all men feel, and the best disposed minds cannot but be sensible of their uneasiness ; and therefore ought, by fit applications, to seek their removal, though not with impatience or over great haste, upon the first approaches of them, where delay does not threaten some irreparable harm. The pains that come from the necessities of nature, are monitors to us, to beware of greater mischiefs, which they are the forerunners of ; and therefore they must not be wholly neglected, nor strained too far. But yet the more children can be inured to hardships<sup>4</sup> of this kind, by a wise care to make them stronger in body and mind, the better it will be for them. I need not here give any caution to keep within the bounds of doing them good, and to take care, that what children are made to suffer, should neither break their spirits, nor injure

<sup>1</sup> **The very naming of it, &c.]** A good deal of what Locke says on points such as these is explained by the fact that he was a bachelor. (See Hallam's remark, p. 39.) Wise and tender mothers pursue the more reasonable course of diverting the attention of the child to other objects.

<sup>2</sup> **Fancy]** i.e. mere caprice.

<sup>3</sup> **Queis humana, &c.]** Hor. *Sat.* I. v. 75. 'What being denied, nature would suffer.'

<sup>4</sup> **Inured to hardships]** On the hardening system, see Introduction, p. 36.

their health, parents being but too apt of themselves to incline more than they should to the softer side.

But whatever compliance the necessities of nature may require, the wants of fancy children should never be gratified in, nor suffered to mention. The very speaking for any such thing should make them lose it. Clothes, when they need, they must have ; but if they speak for this stuff or that colour, they should be sure to go without it. Not that I would have parents purposely cross the desires of their children in matters of indifferency ; on the contrary, where their carriage<sup>1</sup> deserves it, and one is sure it will not corrupt, or effeminate their minds, and make them fond of trifles, I think all things should be contrived, as much as could be, to their satisfaction, that they may find the ease and pleasure of doing well. The best for children, is, that they should not place any pleasure in such things at all, nor regulate their delight by their fancies, but be indifferent to all that nature has made so. This is what their parents and teachers should chiefly aim at ; but till this be obtained, all that I oppose here, is the liberty of asking, which in these things of conceit<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Carriage*] i.e. conduct.

<sup>2</sup> *Things of conceit*] What Locke elsewhere calls 'wants of fancy,' needs existing only in the mind as distinguished from real needs. It is absurd to expect young children to make such discriminations. The wants of the fancy are to them as urgent as those of the body, and may be preferred quite innocently. What should be required is that a request should be properly made and a denial graciously submitted to. This mode of dealing with children may be more troublesome than one which makes them afraid to ask at all, or converts them into precocious little Stoics, but it comes recommended to us by God's mode of dealing with mankind. See Introduction, p. 40. Locke thus defends his position in a letter to Mr. Molyneux :— 'Children are very apt to covet what they see those above them in age have or do, to have or do the like, especially if it be their elder brothers and sisters. Does one go abroad? The other straight has a mind to it too. Has such an one new or fine clothes, or playthings? They, if you once allow it them, will be impatient for the like, and think themselves ill dealt with if they have it not. This being indulged when they are little, grows up with their age, and with that enlarges itself to things of

ought to be restrained by a constant forfeiture annexed to it.

This may perhaps be thought a little too severe by the natural indulgence of tender parents ; but yet it is no more than necessary : for since the method I propose is to banish the rod, this restraint of their tongues will be of great use to settle that awe we have elsewhere spoken of, and to keep up in them the respect and reverence due to their parents. Next, it will teach them to keep in, and so master their inclinations. By this means they will be brought to learn the art of stifling their desires, as soon as they rise up in them, when they are easiest to be subdued. For giving vent, gives life and strength to our appetites ; and he that has the confidence to turn his ✓ wishes into demands, will be but a little way from thinking he ought to obtain them. This, I am sure, ✓ every one can more easily bear a denial from himself, than from any body else. They should therefore be accustomed betimes to consult, and make use of their

greater consequence, and has ruined more families than one in the world. This should be suppressed in its very first rise, and the desires you would not have encouraged you should not permit to be spoken, which is the best way for them to silence them to themselves. Children should by constant use learn to be very modest in owning their desires, and careful not to ask anything of their parents, but what they have reason to think their parents will approve of. And a reprimand on their ill bearing a refusal comes too late, the fault is committed and allowed ; and if you allow them to ask, you can scarce think it strange they should be troubled to be denied ; so that you suffer them to engage themselves in the disorder, and then think the fittest time for a cure, and I think, the surest and easiest way, is prevention. For we must take the same nature to be in children, that is in grown men ; and how often do we find men take ill to be denied what they would not have been concerned for if they had not asked. But I shall not enlarge any farther on this, believing that you and I shall agree in the matter ; and indeed it is very hard, and almost impossible to give general rules of *Education*, when there is scarce any one child, which in some cases, should not be treated differently from another. All that we can do in general, is only to show what parents and tutors should aim at, and leave to them the ordering of particular circumstances as the case shall require.'

reason before they give allowance to their inclinations. It is a great step towards the mastery of our desires, to give this stop to them, and shut them up in silence. This habit got by children, of staying the forwardness of their fancies, and deliberating whether it be fit or not, before they speak, will be of no small advantage to them in matters of greater consequence, in the future course of their lives. For that which I cannot too often inculcate, is, that whatever the matter be about which it is conversant, whether great or small, the main (I had almost said only) thing to be considered in every action of a child, is, what influence it will have<sup>1</sup> upon his mind; what habit it tends to, and is like to settle in him; how it will become him when he is bigger; and if it be encouraged, whither it will lead him, when he is grown up.

My meaning therefore is not, that children should purposely be made uneasy. This would relish too much of inhumanity and ill nature, and be apt to

<sup>1</sup> What influence it will have] This is an excellent principle to take as our guide, but it leaves room for much difference of opinion as to what influences will be exerted by a particular line of action. A systematic suppression of the 'wants of fancy' may develop the power of self-control, but it may also strip infancy of much of its happiness. On the other hand, the foolish cravings of a child are corrected by growing wisdom, and the affection and gratitude excited by parental kindness impose some restraint upon selfish desires. Locke does not sufficiently recognise the large part which the affections play in education, and the natural checks by which the mischievous consequences that might ensue from concessions to infantile weakness are modified or arrested.

It should also be remembered that a desire is not stifled by being denied expression. It may even gain strength by being forcibly silenced. Far better would it be that a child should be refused an inexpedient request, or else, when the circumstances of the case safely admit of it, corrected through its concession. A parent can urge reasons that will soften refusal and secure a ready submission, and the correction of experience may often be safely left to justify disregarded warnings. This is God's method of education. We are educated through the refusal of some requests and through the granting of others; but we are not vindictively punished because we sometimes ask amiss for that which is not expedient.

infect them with it. They should be brought to deny their appetites ; and their minds, as well as bodies, be made vigorous, easy, and strong, by the custom of having their inclinations in subjection, and their bodies exercised with hardships : but all this, without giving them any mark or apprehension of ill will towards them. The constant loss of what they craved, or carved to themselves, should teach them modesty, submission, and a power to forbear : but the rewarding their modesty, and silence, by giving them what they liked, should also assure them of the love of those who rigorously exacted this obedience. The contenting themselves now in the want of what they wished for, is a virtue, that another time should be rewarded with what is suited and acceptable to them ; which should be bestowed on them, as if it were a natural consequence of their good behaviour, and not a bargain about it. But you will lose your labour, and what is more, their love and reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them. This is to be kept very staunch, and carefully to be watched. And here the servants come again in my way.

108. If this be begun betimes, and they accustom themselves early to silence their desires, this useful habit will settle them ;<sup>1</sup> and as they come to grow up in age and discretion, they may be allowed greater liberty, when reason comes to speak in them, and not passion : for whenever reason would speak, it should be hearkened to. But as they should never be heard, when they speak for any particular thing they would have, unless it be first proposed to them ; so they should always be heard, and fairly and kindly answered, when they ask after any thing they would know, and desire to be informed about. Curiosity ✓

<sup>1</sup> *Settle them*] i.e. firmly establish in them the power of self-control,

should be as carefully cherished in children, as other appetites suppressed.<sup>1</sup>

[RECREATION.]

However strict a hand is to be kept upon all desires of fancy, yet there is one case wherein fancy must be permitted to speak, and be hearkened to also. Recreation is as necessary as labour or food.<sup>2</sup> But because there can be no recreation without delight, which depends not always on reason, but oftener on fancy, it must be permitted children not only to divert themselves, but to do it after their own fashion, provided it be innocently, and without prejudice to their health; and therefore in this case they should not be denied, if they proposed any particular kind of recreation. Though I think in a well-ordered education, they will seldom be brought to the necessity of asking any such liberty: care should be taken, that what is of advantage to them, they should always do with delight; and before they are wearied with one, they should be timely diverted to some other useful employment. But if they are not yet brought to that degree of perfection, that one way of improvement can be made a recreation to

<sup>1</sup> **Other appetites suppressed]** All appetites need regulation, but none need to be suppressed. God has not left us to be mutilated into perfection by parents and teachers. The appetites, which Locke seems to have so great a dread of, are the stimuli to action which God Himself has implanted in us, and which only need to be brought under the control of reason.

<sup>2</sup> **As necessary as labour or food]** We are too apt to look upon recreation as a mere concession to the weakness of children. As a matter of fact, it is as much a part of education as school work is. There are lessons to be learnt in the playground which cannot be learnt from books and teachers, and the school lessons are better learnt for the play lessons, not only because the mind is invigorated through the body, but because in play the mind is brought into contact with things as distinguished from the symbols of things. It is a mistake to look upon play as the only recreation. If work and play be well proportioned, each will be a recreation to the other.

them, they must be let loose to the childish play they fancy ; which they should be weaned from, by being made to surfeit of it : but from things of use, that they are employed in, they should always be sent away with an appetite, at least be dismissed before they are tired, and grow quite sick of it, that so they may return to it again, as to a pleasure that diverts them. For you must never think them set right, till they can find delight in the practice of laudable things ; and the useful exercises of the body and mind, taking their turns, make their lives and improvements pleasant in a continued train of recreations, wherein the wearied part is constantly relieved and refreshed. Whether this can be done in every temper, or whether tutors and parents will be at the pains, and have the discretion and patience to bring them to this, I know not ; but that it may be done in most children, if a right course be taken to raise in them the desire of credit, esteem, and reputation, I do not at all doubt. And when they have so much true life put into them, they may freely be talked with about what most delights them, and be directed, or let loose to it ; so that they may perceive that they are beloved and cherished, and that those under whose tuition they are, are not enemies to their satisfaction. Such a management will make them in love with the hand that directs them, and the virtue they are directed to.

This farther advantage may be made by a free liberty permitted them in their recreations, that it will discover their natural tempers, show their inclinations and aptitudes, and thereby direct wise parents in the choice, both of the course of life, and employment they shall design them for, and of fit remedies, in the mean time, to be applied to whatever bent of nature they may observe most likely to mislead any of their children.

109. 2. Children who live together, often strive



for mastery, whose wills shall carry it over the rest ; whoever begins the contest, should be sure to be crossed in it. But not only that, but they should be taught to have all the deference, complaisance, and civility one for another imaginable. This, when they see it procures them respect, love and esteem, and that they lose no superiority by it, they will take more pleasure in, than in insolent domineering ; for so plainly is the other.

The accusations of children <sup>1</sup> one against another, which usually are but the clamours of anger and revenge desiring aid, should not be favourably received, nor hearkened to. It weakens and effeminates their minds to suffer them to complain ; and if they endure sometimes crossing, or pain from others, without being permitted to think it strange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn sufferance,<sup>2</sup> and harden them early. But though you give no countenance to the complaints of the querulous, yet take

<sup>1</sup> The accusations of children] Campe says : ' In many cases, it will be well and sufficient for the purpose to dismiss the little complainant with the lesson that we are not to heed every little trifle, and that we must rather put up with a slight offence than be spiteful. But since the quarrels and fighting of children can only be avoided by letting them know that there is somebody at hand who will see them righted if appealed to, the preceptor is fain at least occasionally to act the part of judge, especially in cases of some little importance. I would then not exactly dismiss the complainant, but say to him : " My child, you are just now beside yourself ; but when we wish to complain of any one, we should be quite calm and collected, lest we run the risk of wronging the offender by making the offence greater than it really is. Take time to compose yourself ; then consider whether the injury is of such a nature as cannot be overlooked. If so, return this evening or to-morrow morning and tell me what has happened ; then you will find a just judge in me." If in the mean time it be suggested to the other side to endeavour to conciliate the injured one, we may expect to find the matter in most cases amicably arranged, without the necessity of submitting it to a judicial decision. And the child would in this way incidentally learn the wholesome lesson that we are to do nothing in passion, and that we must guard against wronging even those who have offended us.'

<sup>2</sup> Sufferance] i.e. patient endurance.

care to curb the insolence and ill nature of the injurious. When you observe it yourself, reprove it before the injured party : but if the complaint be of something really worth your notice, and prevention another time, then reprove the offender by himself alone, out of sight of him that complained, and make him go and ask pardon,<sup>1</sup> and make reparation : which coming thus, as it were from himself, will be the more cheerfully performed, and more kindly received, the love strengthened between them, and a custom of civility grow familiar amongst your children.

110. 3. As to the having and possessing of things, teach them to part with what they have easily and freely to their friends, and let them find by experience that the most liberal has always the most plenty, with esteem and commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practise it. This, I imagine, will make brothers and sisters kinder and civiler to one another, and consequently to others, than twenty rules about good manners, with which children are ordinarily perplexed and cumbered. Covetousness, and the desire of having in our possession, and under our dominion, more than we have need of, being the root of all evil, should be early and carefully weeded out, and the contrary quality, of a readiness to impart to others, implanted. This should be encouraged by great commendation and credit, and constantly taking care that he loses nothing by his liberality. Let all the instances he gives of such freeness be always repaid,<sup>2</sup> and with interest ;

<sup>1</sup> Ask pardon] It is highly desirable to cultivate in a child a readiness to acknowledge his fault when he has done wrong and to make reparation for it, but we should take care not to compel him to say he is sorry when he feels no sorrow, or to ask for pardon when he believes he is wronged. Better obstinacy than hypocrisy.

<sup>2</sup> Repaid] Not necessarily in kind, for that, if always done, might convert kind actions into mere matters of calculation. Real kindness carries with it its own reward. At the same time adventitious rewards

and let him sensibly perceive, that the kindness he shows to others, is no ill husbandry for himself; but that it brings a return of kindness both from those that receive it and those who look on. Make this a contest among children, who shall outdo one another this way: and by this means, by a constant practice, children having made it easy to themselves to part with what they have, good nature may be settled in them into a habit, and they may take pleasure, and pique themselves in being kind, liberal, and civil to others.

If liberality ought to be encouraged, certainly great care is to be taken that children transgress not the rules of justice: and whenever they do, they should be set right, and if there be occasion for it, severely rebuked.

Our first actions being guided more by self-love than reason or reflection, it is no wonder that in children they should be very apt to deviate from the just measures of right and wrong; which are in the mind the result of improved reason, and serious meditation. This, the more they are apt to mistake, the more careful guard ought to be kept over them, and every the least slip in this great social virtue taken notice of, and rectified; and that in things of the least weight and moment, both to instruct their ignorance, and prevent ill habits; which from small beginnings in pins and cherry-stones, will, if let alone, grow up to higher frauds, and be in danger to end at last in downright hardened dishonesty. The first tendency to any injustice that appears, must be suppressed with a show of wonder and abhorrence in the parents and governors. But

are not without their value in the case of young children. The self-denial of a child should not be too severely taxed, and should be directly rewarded until 'the luxury of doing good' and higher motives render direct rewards unnecessary.

✓ because children cannot well comprehend what injustice is, till they understand property, and how particular persons come by it, the safest way to secure honesty, is to lay the foundations of it early in liberality, and an easiness to part with to others whatever they have or like themselves. This may be taught them early, before they have language and understanding enough to form distinct notions of property, and to know what is theirs by a peculiar right, exclusive of others. And since children seldom have any thing but by gift, and that for the most part from their parents, they may be at first taught not to take or keep any thing but what is given them by those whom they take to have a power over it. And as their capacities enlarge, other rules and cases of justice, and rights concerning *meum* and *tuum*, may be proposed and inculcated. If any act of injustice in them appears to proceed, not from mistake, but a perverseness in their wills, when a gentle rebuke and shame will not reform this irregular and covetous inclination, rougher remedies must be applied : and it is but for the father or tutor to take and keep from them something that they value and think their own, or order somebody else to do it ; and by such instances, make them sensible what little advantage they are like to make by possessing themselves unjustly of what is another's, whilst there are in the world stronger and more men than they. But if an ingenuous detestation of this shameful vice be but carefully and early instilled into them, as I think it may, that is the true and genuine method to obviate this crime, and will be a better guard against dishonesty than any considerations drawn from interest ; habits working more constantly, and with greater facility, than reason, which, when we have most need of it, is seldom fairly consulted, and more rarely obeyed.

## [SECTION XIII. §§ 111-114.]

## [ON CRYING AND SCREAMING IN CHILDREN.]

III. Crying is a fault that should not be tolerated in children; not only for the unpleasant and unbecoming noise it fills the house with, but for more considerable reasons, in reference to the children themselves: which is to be our aim in education.

Their crying is of two sorts; either stubborn and domineering, or querulous and whining.

I. Their crying is very often a striving for mastery, and an open declaration of their insolence or obstinacy; when they have not the power to obtain their desire, they will, by their clamour and sobbing, maintain their title and right to it. This is an avowed continuing of their claim and a sort of remonstrance against the oppression and injustice of those who deny them what they have a mind to.

II. 2. Sometimes their crying is the effect of pain, or true sorrow, and a bemoaning themselves under it.

These two, if carefully observed, may, by the mien, looks, actions, and particularly by the tone of their crying, be easily distinguished; but neither of them must be suffered, much less encouraged.

I. The obstinate, or stomachful<sup>1</sup> crying, should by no means be permitted, because it is but another way of flattering their desires, and encouraging those passions which it is our main business to subdue: and if it be, as often it is, upon the receiving any correction, it quite defeats all the good effects of it; for any chastisement which leaves them in this declared opposition, only serves to make them worse. The

<sup>1</sup> *Stomachful*] i.e. wilfully obstinate, perverse. Cf. Lat. *stomachor*, to be irritated, peevish; *stomachosus*, angry, pettish.

restraints and punishments laid on children are all misapplied and lost, as far as they do not prevail over their wills, teach them to submit their passions, and make their minds supple and pliant to what their parent's reason advises them now, and so prepare them to obey what their own reason shall advise hereafter. But if in any thing wherein they are crossed, they may be suffered to go away crying, they confirm themselves in their desires, and cherish the ill humour, with a declaration of their right, and a resolution to satisfy their inclination the first opportunity. This therefore is another argument against the frequent use of blows : for, whenever you come to that extremity it is not enough to whip or beat them, you must do it till you find you have subdued their minds, till with submission and patience they yield to the correction ; which you shall best discover by their crying, and their ceasing from it upon your bidding. Without this, the beating of children is but a passionate tyranny over them ; and it is mere <sup>1</sup> cruelty, and not correction, to put their bodies in pain, without doing their minds any good. As this gives us a reason why children should seldom be corrected, so it also prevents their being so. For if, whenever they are chastised, it were done thus without passion, soberly, and yet effectually too, laying on the blows and smart not furiously, and all at once, but slowly, with reasoning

<sup>1</sup> *More*] i.e. absolute, pure. Craik remarks on the word 'merely' that 'it separates that which it designates and qualifies from everything else. But in so doing the chief or most emphatic reference may be made either to that which is included or to that which is excluded. In modern English it is always to the latter. In Shakespeare's day [he might have added, "and much later"] the other reference was more common, that, namely, to what was included.' (*English of Shakespeare*, p. 80.) Jeremy Taylor uses the word in its original inclusive sense :—'Our wine is here mingled with water and myrrh ; there [viz. : in heaven] it is *mere* and unmixed.' (*Worthy Communicant*.)

between, and with observation how it wrought, stopping when it had made them pliant, penitent and yielding; they would seldom need the like punishment again, being made careful to avoid the fault that deserved it. Besides, by this means, as the punishment would not be lost for being too little, and not effectual, so it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as soon as we perceived that it reached the mind, and that was bettered. For since the chiding or beating of children should be always the least that possibly may be, that which is laid on in the heat of anger, seldom observes the measure, but is commonly more than it should be, though it prove less than enough.

113. 2. Many children are apt to cry, upon any little pain they suffer, and the least harm that befalls them, puts them into complaints and bawling. This few children avoid: for it being the first and natural way to declare their suffering or wants, before they can speak, the compassion that is thought due to that tender age foolishly encourages, and continues it in them long after they can speak. It is the duty, I confess, of those about children, to compassionate them, whenever they suffer any hurt; but not to show it in pitying them. Help and ease them the best you can, but by no means bemoan them.<sup>1</sup> This softens their minds, and makes them yield to the little harms that happen to them; whereby they sink deeper into that part, which alone feels, and make larger wounds there, than otherwise they would. They should be hardened against all sufferings, especially of the body, and have no tenderness but what rises from an in-

<sup>1</sup> By no means bemoan them] The wisest course is to try to divert their attention to something else. 'Such impressions as would ordinarily produce severe pain, may for a time be completely unfelt, through the exclusive direction of the attention elsewhere.' (Carpenter's *Ment. Phys.* p. 138.)

genuous shame, and a quick sense of reputation. The many inconveniences this life is exposed to, require we should not be too sensible of every little hurt. What our minds yield not to makes but a slight impression, and does us but very little harm. It is the suffering of our spirits, that gives and continues the pain. This brawniness and insensibility of mind, is the best armour we can have against the common evils and accidents of life; and being a temper that is to be got by exercise and custom, more than any other way, the practice of it should be begun betimes; and happy is he that is taught it early. That effeminacy of spirit, which is to be prevented or cured, as nothing that I know so much increases in children as crying; so nothing, on the other side, so much checks and restrains, as their being hindered from that sort of complaining. In the little harms they suffer from knocks and falls, they should not be pitied for falling, but bid do so again; which besides that it stops their crying, is a better way to cure their heedlessness, and prevent their tumbling another time, than either chiding or bemoaning them. But, let the hurts they receive be what they will, stop their crying, and that will give them more quiet and ease at present, and harden them for the future.

114. The former sort of crying requires severity to silence it; and where a look, or a positive command will not do it, blows must: for it proceeding from pride, obstinacy, and stomach,<sup>1</sup> the will, where the fault lies, must be bent, and made to comply, by a rigour sufficient to master it. But this latter being ordinarily from softness of mind, a quite contrary cause, ought to be treated with a gentler hand. Persuasion, or diverting the thoughts another

<sup>1</sup> Stomach] i.e. wilful peevishness. See note, p. 214.



way, or laughing<sup>1</sup> at their whining, may perhaps be at first the proper method: but for this, the circumstances of the thing, and the particular temper of the child, must be considered. No certain unvariable rules can be given about it; but it must be left to the prudence of the parents or tutor. But this, I think, I may say in general, that there should be a constant discountenancing of this sort of crying also; and that the father, by his authority, should always stop it, mixing a greater degree of roughness in his looks or words, proportionably as the child is of a greater age, or a sturdier temper: but always let it be enough to silence their whimpering, and put an end to the disorder.

[SECTION XIV. § 115.]

[ON FEAR AND COURAGE IN CHILDREN.]

115. Cowardice and courage<sup>2</sup> are so nearly related to the fore-mentioned tempers, that it may not be amiss here to take notice of them. Fear is a passion, that, if rightly governed, has its use. And though self-love seldom fails to keep it watchful and high enough in us, yet there may be an excess on the daring side. Fool-hardiness and insensibility of danger, being as little reasonable, as trembling and

<sup>1</sup> **Laughing]** Locke does not, of course, here mean a scoffing laugh, but only that harmless genial laughter which gently reproves the child's exaggeration of its suffering.

<sup>2</sup> **Courage]** Courage is, to a large extent, a matter of education. People who are courageous in certain circumstances are often very timid in others with which they are less familiar. The inference is that our courage is partly dependent on our familiarity with a danger, and on our experience of our ability to cope with it. Hence the best way of correcting a child's cowardice is to gradually familiarise him with dangers, and encourage him to face greater difficulties by his triumphs over smaller ones. In no part of education has a parent greater need of patience. A great fear paralyses reason.

shrinking at the approach of every little evil. Fear was given us as a monitor to quicken our industry, and keep us upon our guard against the approaches of evil; and therefore to have no apprehension of mischief at hand, not to make a just estimate of the danger, but heedlessly to run into it, be the hazard what it will, without considering of what use or consequence it may be, is not the resolution of a rational creature, but brutish fury. Those who have children of this temper, have nothing to do, but a little to awaken their reason, which self-preservation will quickly dispose them to hearken to, unless (which is usually the case) some other passion hurries them on headlong, without sense, and without consideration. A dislike of evil is so natural to mankind, that nobody, I think, can be without fear of it: fear being nothing but an uneasiness under the apprehension of that coming upon us which we dislike. And therefore, whenever any one runs into danger, we may say, it is under the conduct of ignorance, or the command of some more imperious passion, nobody being so much an enemy to himself, as to come within the reach of evil, out of free choice, and court danger for danger's sake. If it be therefore pride, vain-glory, or rage, that silences a child's fear, or makes him not hearken to its advice, those are by fit means to be abated, that a little consideration may allay his heat, and make him bethink himself, whether this attempt be worth the venture. But this being a fault that children are not so often guilty of, I shall not be more particular in its cure. Weakness of spirit is the more common defect, and therefore will require the greater care.

## [FORTITUDE.]

Fortitude is the guard and support of the other virtues; and without courage a man will scarce keep

steady to his duty, and fill up the character of a truly worthy man.

Courage, that makes us bear up against dangers that we fear, and evils that we feel, is of great use in an estate, as ours is in this life, exposed to assaults on all hands : and therefore it is very advisable to get children into this armour as early as we can. Natural temper, I confess, does here a great deal : but even where that is defective, and the heart is in itself weak and timorous, it may, by a right management, be brought to a better resolution. What is to be done to prevent breaking children's spirits by frightful apprehensions instilled into them when young, or bemoaning themselves under every little suffering, I have already taken notice ; how to harden their tempers, and raise their courage, if we find them too much subject to fear, is farther to be considered.

True fortitude, I take to be the quiet possession of a man's self, and an undisturbed doing his duty, whatever evil besets, or danger lies in his way. This there are so few men attain to, that we are not to expect it from children. But yet something may be done : and a wise conduct by insensible degrees may carry them farther than one expects.

The neglect of this great care of them, whilst they are young, is the reason, perhaps, why there are so few that have this virtue in its full latitude, when they are men. I should not say this in a nation so naturally brave, as ours is, did I think that true fortitude required nothing but courage in the field, and contempt of life in the face of an enemy. This, I confess, is not the least part of it, nor can be denied the laurels and honours always justly due to the valour of those who venture their lives for their country. But yet this is not all. Dangers attack us in other places,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other places] Moral courage is more frequently needed, both by children and men, than physical courage, and should be carefully fos-

besides the field of battle; and though death be the king of terrors, yet pain, disgrace and poverty have frightful looks, able to discompose most men, whom they seem ready to seize on: and there are those who condemn some of these, and yet are heartily frightened with the other. True fortitude is prepared for dangers of all kinds, and unmoved, whatsoever evil it be that threatens. I do not mean unmoved with any fear at all. Where danger shows itself, apprehension cannot, without stupidity, be wanting: where danger is, sense of danger should be; and so much fear as should keep us awake, and excite our attention, industry, and vigour, but not disturb the calm use of our reason, nor hinder the execution of what that dictates.

[COWARDICE.]

The first step to get this noble and manly steadiness, is, what I have above mentioned, carefully to keep children from frights of all kinds, when they are young. Let not any fearful apprehensions be talked into them, nor terrible objects surprise them. This often so shatters and discomposes the spirits, that they never recover it again; but during their whole life, upon the first suggestion or appearance of any terri-

tered. Children, for instance, who spontaneously come forward to confess some wrong-doing should, if punished at all, have some part of their punishment remitted on the ground of their confession. Children, again, who are known to have resisted strong temptations should receive special commendation. Moral courage is needed not merely to resist temptation, but to assert our own opinion when it differs from the opinions of those around us. To meet this necessity children should be encouraged to state their opinions honestly in matters on which they are capable of forming an opinion. School-boys, as a rule, are the most intolerant of bigots, and it requires a proportionate amount of moral courage for a boy to avow opinions different from those of his companions. Hence, perhaps, the reason why home-bred men, however they may lack certain forms of manliness, have generally more strength and independence of character, and greater freedom from class prejudices, than men who have been educated at large schools.

fying idea, are scattered<sup>1</sup> and confounded ; the body is enervated, and the mind disturbed, and the man scarce himself, or capable of any composed or rational action. Whether this be from an habitual motion of the animal spirits,<sup>2</sup> introduced by the first strong impression, or from the alteration of the constitution by some more unaccountable way, this is certain, that so it is. Instances of such who in a weak timorous mind, have borne, all their whole lives through, the effects of a fright when they were young, are everywhere to be seen, and therefore as much as may be to be prevented.

The next thing is by gentle degrees to accustom children to those things they are too much afraid of. But here great caution is to be used, that you do not make too much haste, nor attempt this cure too early, for fear lest you increase the mischief instead of remedying it. Little ones in arms may be easily kept out of the way of terrifying objects, and till they can talk and understand what is said to them, are scarce capable of that reasoning and discourse, which should be used, to let them know there is no harm in those frightful objects, which we would make them familiar with, and do, to that purpose, by gentle degrees bring nearer and nearer to them. And therefore it is seldom there is need of any application to them of this kind, till after they can run about and talk. But yet, if it should happen that infants should have taken offence at any thing which cannot be easily kept out of their way, and that they show marks of terror as often as it comes in sight ; all the allays of fright, by diverting their thoughts, or mixing pleasant and agreeable appearances with it, must be used, till it be grown familiar and inoffensive to them.

<sup>1</sup> **Scattered**] i.e. distracted, deprived of all power of concentrating their minds. Cf. 'scatter-brained.'

<sup>2</sup> **Animal spirits**] i.e. what we now understand by the phrase 'nervous energy.'

I think we may observe, that, when children are first born, all objects of sight, that do not hurt the eyes, are indifferent to them; and they are no more afraid of a Blackamoor or a lion, than of their nurse or a cat. What is it then, that afterwards, in certain mixtures of shape and colour, comes to affright them? Nothing but the apprehensions of harm that accompany those things. Did a child suck every day a new nurse, I make account it would be no more affrighted with the change of faces at six months old, than at sixty. The reason then why it will not come to a stranger, is, because having been accustomed to receive its food and kind usage only from one or two, that are about it, the child apprehends, by coming into the arms of a stranger, the being taken from what delights and feeds it, and every moment supplies its wants, which it often feels, and therefore fears when the nurse is away.

The only thing we are naturally afraid of is pain, or loss of pleasure. And because these are not annexed to any shape, colour, or size, of visible objects, we are frightened with none of them, till either we have felt pain from them, or have notions put into us that they will do us harm. The pleasant brightness and lustre of flame and fire, so delights children, that at first they always desire to be handling of it: but when constant experience has convinced them, by the exquisite pains it has put them to, how cruel and unmerciful it is, they are afraid to touch it, and carefully avoid it. This being the ground of fear, it is not hard to find whence it arises, and how it is to be cured in all mistaken objects of terror. And when the mind is confirmed against them, and has got a mastery over itself, and its usual fears, in lighter occasions, is in good preparation to meet more real dangers. Your child shrieks, and runs away at the sight of a frog; let another catch it, and

lay it down at a good distance from him : at first accustom him to look upon it ; when he can do that, then to come nearer to it, and see it leap without emotion ; then to touch it lightly, when it is held fast in another's hand ; and so on, till he can come to handle it as confidently as a butterfly, or a sparrow. By the same way any other vain terrors may be removed ; if care be taken, that you go not too fast, and push not the child on to a new degree of assurance, till he be thoroughly confirmed in the former. And thus the young soldier is to be trained on to the warfare of life ; wherein care is to be taken, that more things be not represented as dangerous, than really are so ; and then, that whatever you observe him to be more frightened at than he should, you be sure to tole<sup>1</sup> him on by insensible degrees, till he at last, quitting his fears, masters the difficulty, and comes off with applause. Successes of this kind often repeated, will make him find, that evils are not always so certain, or so great, as our fears represent them ; and that the way to avoid them is not to run away, or be discomposed, dejected, and deterred by fear, where either our credit or duty requires us to go on.

## [HARDINESS.]

But since the great foundation of fear in children is pain, the way to harden, and fortify children against fear and danger, is to accustom them to suffer pain. This it is possible will be thought, by kind parents, a very unnatural thing towards their children ; and by most, unreasonable, to endeavour to reconcile any

<sup>1</sup> *Tole*] i.e. lead, allure on. 'Attirer, to draw or bring to, to toll or lead on, to entice, allure unto.' (*Cotgrave*.) Cf.:

'That same old humble-bee *toles* the young one forth

To sweetmeats after kind.'—BEAUMONT & FLETCHER.

'*Tolym*' is glossed in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 'incito, provoco, excito.' To *toll* a bell is to pull it slowly to invite people to church.

one to the sense of pain, by bringing it upon him. It will be said, it may perhaps give the child an aversion for him that makes him suffer; but can never recommend to him suffering itself. This is a strange method. You will not have children whipped and punished for their faults, but you would have them tormented for doing well, or for tormenting's sake. I doubt not but such objections as these will be made, and I shall be thought inconsistent with myself, or fantastical,<sup>1</sup> in proposing it. I confess, it is a thing to be managed with great discretion, and therefore it falls not out amiss, that it will not be received and relished, but by those who consider well, and look into the reason of things. I would not have children much beaten for their faults, because I would not have them think bodily pain the greatest punishment: and I would have them, when they do well, be sometimes put in pain, for the same reason, that they might be accustomed to bear it, without looking on it as the greatest evil. How much education may reconcile young people to pain and sufferance, the examples of Sparta<sup>2</sup> do sufficiently show: and they,

<sup>1</sup> Fantastical] i.e. fanciful.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of Sparta] 'From his birth every Spartan boy was treated as the child of the State, and, as such, was liable to be exposed to die at the discretion of his father's kin, if he was a deformed or sickly infant. In his earliest years he was not left entirely to the management of his parents, though under their care, and at the age of seven he entered upon a course of public discipline, increasing in severity as he approached manhood. The education of the young, indeed, and to a certain extent the care of all the elder citizens, was under the especial superintendence of a public officer appointed for this purpose (the *παιδονόμος*), and he again selected a number of the best-qualified young men, just above twenty years of age, to act as captains of the companies (*ἀγέλαι*) into which the boys were divided; and as this education had only one end in view, that of training citizens to serve, and defend their country, the discipline was in every respect subservient to this object. No accomplishments or arts, except of a military character, were taught, while every effort was made to ensure military skill, activity, fortitude, and bravery. The Spartan was to be taught both to bear and to dare with fortitude, and for this purpose he was



who have once brought themselves not to think bodily pain the greatest of evils, or that which they ought to stand most in fear of, have made no small advance towards virtue. But I am not so foolish to propose the Lacedæmonian discipline in our age, or constitution. But yet I do say, that inuring children gently to suffer some degrees of pain without shrinking, is a way to gain firmness to their minds, and lay a foundation for courage and resolution, in the future part of their lives.

Not to bemoan them, or permit them to bemoan themselves, on every little pain they suffer, is the first step to be made. But of this I have spoken elsewhere.

The next thing is, sometimes designedly to put them in pain : but care must be taken, that this be done when the child is in good humour, and satisfied of the goodwill and kindness of him that hurts him, at the time that he does it. There must no marks of anger, or displeasure, on the one side, nor compassion, or repenting, on the other, go along with it : and it must be sure to be no more than the child can bear, without repining or taking it amiss, or for a punishment. Managed by these degrees, and with such circumstances, I have seen a child run away laughing, with good smart blows of a wand on his back, who would have cried for an unkind word, and been very sensible of the chastisement of a cold look, from the same person.

inured from his youth to a coarse and scanty fare, to insufficient clothing, to self-denial, and the severest trials of pain and hardship. One of these is said to have been instituted by Lycurgus, in which noble youths, standing by the altar of Artemis, vied with each other in submitting to the lash, and sometimes died in the contest without uttering a groan.' (*Pen. Cycl.* art. 'Sparta.') Cicero says : 'The boys at Sparta are scourged so at the altars, that blood follows the lash in abundance ; nay, sometimes, as I used to hear when I was there, they used to be whipped even to death ; and yet not one of them was ever heard to cry out, or so much as groan.' (*Tus. Quæst.* II. 14).

Satisfy a child, by a constant course of your care and kindness, that you perfectly love him, and he may by degrees be accustomed to bear very painful, and rough usage from you, without flinching or complaining: and this we see children do every day in play one with another. The softer you find your child is, the more you are to seek occasions, at fit times, thus to harden him. The great art in this is, to begin with what is but very little painful, and to proceed by insensible degrees, when you are playing, and in good humour with him, and speaking well of him: and when you have once got him to think himself made amends for his suffering, by the praise which is given him for his courage; when he can take a pride in giving such marks of his manliness, and can prefer the reputation of being brave and stout, to the avoiding a little pain, or the shrinking under it; you need not despair in time, and by the assistance of his growing reason, to master his timorousness, and mend the weakness of his constitution. As he grows bigger, he is to be set upon bolder attempts than his natural temper carries him to, and whenever he is observed to flinch from what one has reason to think he would come off well in, if he had but courage to undertake: that he should be assisted in at first, and by degrees shamed to, till at last practice has given more assurance, and with it a mastery; which must be rewarded with great praise, and the good opinion of others, for his performance. When by these steps he has got resolution enough not to be deterred, from what he sought to do, by the apprehension of danger; when fear does not, in sudden or hazardous occurrences, discompose his mind, set his body a trembling, and make him unfit for action, or run away from it, he has then the courage of a rational creature: and such a hardiness we should

endeavour by custom and use to bring children to, as proper occasions come in our way.

[SECTION XV. §§ 116-117.]

[ON THE DISPOSITION TO CRUELTY  
IN CHILDREN.]

116. One thing I have frequently observed in children, that when they have got possession of any poor creature, they are apt to use it ill: they often torment and treat very roughly, young birds, butterflies, and such other poor animals, which fall into their hands, and that with a seeming kind of pleasure.<sup>1</sup> This, I think, should be watched in them, and if they incline to any such cruelty, they should be taught the contrary usage. For the custom of tormenting and killing of beasts, will, by degrees, harden their minds even towards men; and they, who delight in the suffering and destruction of inferior creatures, will not be apt to be very compassionate, or benign to those of their own kind. Our practice takes notice of this in the exclusion of butchers<sup>2</sup> from juries of life and death. Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing, or tormenting any living creature;<sup>3</sup> and be taught

<sup>1</sup> **Pleasure]** It is related that, in order by extreme terror to inculcate salutary lessons of humanity, the court of Areopagus, at Athens, once put to death a boy incorrigibly addicted to indulge in cruelty towards the inferior animals; inferring that, when years should endow him with superior strength, he would exercise the same cruelties towards men. But this was to repress a lesser, by committing a greater crime.' *St. J.*

<sup>2</sup> **Butchers]** I can find no authority for this statement.

<sup>3</sup> **Any living creature]** A great deal of children's cruelty is owing to their curiosity with regard to the structure of the creatures they torment, and to their ignorance of the pain which their clumsy experiments inflict. Goethe tells us that when he was a child he half stripped a living bird of its feathers to see how they were set in the skin. The same explanation applies to what are called the destructive propensities

not to spoil or destroy any thing, unless it be for the preservation or advantage of some other that is nobler. And truly, if the preservation of all mankind, as much as in him lies, were every one's persuasion, as indeed it is every one's duty, and the true principle to regulate our religion, politics, and morality by, the world would be much quieter, and better natured than it is. But to return to our present business ; I cannot ~~but~~ commend both the kindness and prudence of a mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her

of children. On this subject the late Professor Payne excellently remarked : 'Give an infant a beautiful flower. Its bright colour at once attracts his eye ; but only for a moment. He does not dwell upon it ; his aesthetic taste is not yet awakened. But his instinct for making experiments is in full exercise. He wants to ascertain what other properties the flower has, and especially its power of resistance. He recklessly pulls it to pieces, petal from petal, not, as some foolish people imagine, because he delights in destruction, but to make himself acquainted with its mechanical properties, and he is proportionately charmed when he finds that it yields to the power he puts forth. "Delights in destruction !" Why, he is doing, in his way, in proportion to his knowledge, the very thing that advanced philosophers do in their scientific analyses. He is merely working as an industrious pupil in that school of Nature and fact, in which every human being receives his earliest lessons.'

Lessons upon the structure and treatment of animals, more especially of our common domestic animals, should form part of every school course. The season for bird-nesting, and the beginning of cold wintry weather, would present opportune occasions for special lessons in humanity ; but no opportunity should be thrown away of enforcing this duty, incidental teaching in morality being often more effective than formal lessons. The teacher should also take care to bring the highest of all motives to bear upon it. Our duty to the brute beast, as to our fellow-men, is part of our duty towards God.

' He prayeth well who loveth well  
Both man and bird and beast.  
He prayeth best who loveth best  
All things both great and small ;  
For the dear God who loveth us,  
He made and loveth all.'

What Locke says on the treatment of animal pets is highly deserving of attention. They often suffer bad treatment, not from intentional cruelty, but from simple want of thought. A child who neglects to feed his rabbits might be brought to understand his cruelty by having to wait somewhat longer than usual for one of his own meals.

daughters, when any of them desired dogs, squirrels, birds, or any such things, as young girls use to be delighted with : but then, when they had them, they must be sure to keep them well, and look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill used. For if they were negligent in their care of them, it was counted a great fault, which often forfeited their possession, or at least they failed not to be rebuked for it ; whereby they were early taught diligence and good nature. And indeed, I think people should be accustomed, from their cradles, to be tender to all sensible creatures, and to spoil or waste nothing at all.

This delight they take in doing of mischief, whereby I mean spoiling of any thing to no purpose, but more especially the pleasure they take to put anything in pain, that is capable of it, I cannot persuade myself to be any other than a foreign and introduced disposition, a habit borrowed from custom and conversation. People teach children to strike, and laugh, when they hurt, or see harm come to others : and they have the examples of most about them, to confirm them in it. All the entertainment and talk of history is of nothing almost but fighting and killing : and the honour and renown that is bestowed on conquerors (who for the most part are but the great butchers of mankind) farther mislead growing youth, who by this means come to think slaughter the laudable business of mankind, and the most heroic of virtues. By these steps unnatural cruelty is planted in us ; and what humanity abhors, custom reconciles and recommends to us, by laying it in the way to honour. Thus, by fashion and opinion, that comes to be a pleasure, which in itself neither is, nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watched, and early remedied ; so as to settle and cherish the contrary, and more natural temper of benignity and compassion

in the room of it : but still by the same gentle methods which are to be applied to the other two faults before mentioned. It may not perhaps be unreasonable here to add this farther caution, viz. That the mischiefs or harms, that come by play, inadvertency, or ignorance, and were not known to be harms, or designed for mischief's sake, though they may perhaps be sometimes of considerable damage, yet are not at all, or but very gently, to be taken notice of.<sup>1</sup> For this, I think, I cannot too often inculcate, that whatever miscarriage a child is guilty of, and whatever be the consequence of it, the thing to be regarded in taking notice of it, is only what root it springs from, and what habit it is like to establish : and to that the correction ought to be directed, and the child not to suffer any punishment, for any harm which may have come by his play or inadvertency.

✓ The faults to be amended lie in the mind ; and if they are such, as either age will cure, or no ill habits will follow from ; the present action, whatever displeasing circumstances it may have, is to be passed by, without any animadversions.

✓ 117. Another way to instil sentiments of humanity, and to keep them lively in young folks, will be, to accustom them to civility in their language and deportment towards their inferiors and the meaner sort of people, particularly servants. It is not unusual to observe the children in gentlemen's families treat the servants of the house with domineering words, names of contempt, and an imperious carriage ; as if they were of another race and species beneath them. Whether ill example, the advantage of fortune, or their natural vanity inspire this haughtiness, it should

<sup>1</sup> Taken notice of] Too often parents and teachers proportion their anger to the damage done, rather than to the culpability of the child by whom the damage has been done. Yet where there has been no intention to do wrong, and no culpable carelessness, it is the height of unreason and injustice to punish the unwitting offender,

be prevented, or weeded out ; and a gentle, courteous, affable carriage towards the lower ranks of men, placed in the room of it. No part of their superiority will be hereby lost ; but the distinction increased, and their authority strengthened ; when love in inferiors is joined to outward respect, and an esteem of the person has a share in their submission : and domestics will pay a more ready and cheerful service, when they find themselves not spurned, because fortune has laid them below the level of others, at their master's feet. Children should ~~not be suffered~~ to lose the consideration of human nature, in the shufflings of outward conditions.<sup>1</sup> The more they have, the better humoured they should be taught to be ; and the more compassionate and gentle to those of their brethren who are placed lower, and have scantier portions. If they are suffered from their cradles to treat men ill and rudely, because, by their father's title, they think they have a little power over them, at best it is ill-bred, and if care be not taken, will by degrees nurse up their natural pride into an habitual contempt of those beneath them. And where will that probably end, but in oppression and cruelty ?

[SECTION XVI. §§ 118-122.]

[ON THE CURIOSITY OF CHILDREN.]

118. Curiosity in children (which I had occasion just to mention, § 108,) is but an appetite after knowledge ; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them not only as a good sign, but as the great instrument Nature has provided,<sup>2</sup> to remove that ignorance they

<sup>1</sup> Shufflings of outward conditions] i.e. the mere chance differences of social rank. Locke implies that it is a simple accident whether a man shall be servant or master.

<sup>2</sup> The great instrument Nature hath provided] All our instincts

were born with ; and which, without this busy inquisitiveness, will make them dull and useless creatures. The ways to encourage it and keep it active and busy, are, I suppose, these following.

I. Not to check or discountenance any inquiries he shall make, nor suffer them to be laughed at ; but to answer all his questions, and explain the matter he desires to know, so as to make them as much intelligible to him, as suits the capacity of his age and knowledge. But confound not his understanding with explications or notions that are above it : or with the variety or number of things that are not to his present purpose. Mark what it is his mind aims at in the question, and not what words he expresses it in : and when you have informed and satisfied him in that, you shall see how his thoughts will enlarge themselves, and how by fit answers he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine. For knowledge is grateful to the understanding, as light to the eyes : children are pleased and delighted with it exceedingly, especially if they see, that their inquiries are regarded, and that their desire of knowing is

grow out of the possession of organs and faculties fitted for certain ends, and receive their stimulus from the pleasure afforded by their exercise, or from the pain occasioned by their neglect. Curiosity, or the instinct of knowledge, springs out of our capacity for acquiring knowledge, and is stimulated by the pain which we experience in the presence of mysteries that we cannot explore, and by the pleasure which we experience when the mysteries are revealed. It is still further strengthened by the obvious value of knowledge as a source of power. It is deplorable to think how many persons, who were curious in the very highest degree in childhood, grow up into dull, indifferent, incurious men and women, or find a pleasure in the satisfaction of a petty inquisitiveness. Teachers have much to answer for who have allowed so precious an instinct to die of inanition or to be perverted to base uses. But such results are inevitable so long as children are fed with knowledge for which they do not care, and are denied that in which they delight. Teachers, before communicating knowledge, should create an appetite for it, and to this end they should carefully study child-nature. A child is naturally as desirous of mental, as of bodily, food, and, if he disregards what is set before him, the probability is that it is the teacher's fault.



encouraged and commended. And I doubt not, but one great reason why many children abandon themselves wholly to silly sports, and trifle away all their time insipidly, is, because they have found their curiosity balked, and their inquiries neglected. But had they been treated with more kindness and respect, and their questions answered, as they should, to their satisfaction ; I doubt not but they would have taken more pleasure in learning, and improving their knowledge, wherein there would be still newness and variety, which is what they are delighted with, than in returning over and over to the same play and playthings.

119. 2. To this serious answering their questions, and informing their understandings in what they desire, as if it were a matter that needed it, should be added some peculiar ways of commendation. Let others, whom they esteem, be told before their faces of the knowledge they have in such and such things ; and since we are all, even from our cradles, vain and proud creatures, let their vanity be flattered with things that will do them good ; and let their pride set them on work on something which may turn to their advantage. Upon this ground you shall find that there cannot be a greater spur to the attaining what you would have the eldest learn and know himself, than to set him upon teaching it his younger brothers and sisters.<sup>1</sup>

120. 3. As children's inquiries are not to be slighted ; so also great care is to be taken, that they never receive deceitful and eluding answers.<sup>2</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> **Teaching it his younger brothers and sisters]** This stimulus was found to operate very powerfully in schools conducted under the old monitorial system. The ambition to teach others, and be placed in a position of authority and responsibility, made many a boy apply himself to his studies with an intenser zeal than was supplied by the mere love of knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> **Deceitful and eluding answers]** Teachers are sometimes re-

easily perceive when they are slighted or deceived ; and quickly learn the trick of neglect, dissimulation, and falsehood, which they observe others to make use of. We are not to intrench upon truth in any conversation, but least of all with children ; since if we can play false with them, we not only deceive their expectation, and hinder their knowledge, but corrupt their innocence, and teach them the worst of vices. They are travellers newly arrived in a strange country, of which they know nothing ; we should therefore make conscience<sup>1</sup> not to mislead them. And though their questions seem sometimes not very material, yet they should be seriously answered : for however they may appear to us (to whom they are long since known) inquiries not worth the making ; they are of moment to those who are wholly ignorant. Children are strangers to all we are acquainted with ; and all the things they meet with are at first unknown to them, as they once were to us : and happy are they who meet with civil people, that will comply with their ignorance, and help them to get out of it.

If you or I now should be set down in Japan, with all our prudence and knowledge about us, a conceit whereof<sup>2</sup> makes us, perhaps, so apt to slight the thoughts and inquiries of children ; should we, I say, be set down in Japan, we should, no doubt (if we would inform ourselves of what is there to be known)

luctant to appear ignorant before a class of anything on which a question can be propounded. Yet an important lesson for a child to learn is the limitation of the human mind, and one of the most important habits he has to form is that of frankly admitting his ignorance. However much a child may, in his simplicity, be impressed by the seeming omniscience of his teacher, the farce soon comes to an end. Simple honesty requires that a teacher should not affect a knowledge which he does not possess. If the ignorance be culpable ignorance, it admits of a remedy ; if it be not culpable, why act a lie to conceal that of which a man ought not to be ashamed ?

<sup>1</sup> **Make conscience]** i.e. make it a point of conscience.

<sup>2</sup> **A conceit whereof]** i.e. our conceited estimate of which.

ask a thousand questions, which, to a supercilious or inconsiderate Japaner,<sup>1</sup> would seem very idle and impertinent; though to us they would be very material and of importance to be resolved; and we should be glad to find a man so complaisant and courteous, as to satisfy our demands, and instruct our ignorance.

✓ When any new thing comes in their way, children usually ask the common question of a stranger: What is it? Whereby they ordinarily mean nothing but the name; and therefore to tell them how it is called is usually the proper answer to that demand. And the next question usually is: What is it for? And to this it should be answered truly and directly: the use of the thing should be told, and the way explained, how it serves to such a purpose, as far as their capacities can comprehend it. And so of any other circumstances they shall ask about it; not turning them going, till you have given them all the satisfaction they are capable of: and so leading them by your answers, into farther questions. And perhaps to a grown man, such conversation will not be altogether so idle and insignificant as we are apt to imagine. The native and untaught suggestions of inquisitive children do often offer things, that may set a considering man's thoughts on work. And I think there ✓ is frequently more to be learned from the unexpected questions of a child<sup>2</sup> than the discourses of men, who

<sup>1</sup> Japaner] So in the editions of 1693 and 1699. The folio of 1714 reads 'Japaner.'

<sup>2</sup> Questions of a child] 'This is an extremely acute remark, and shows he was well acquainted with the conversation of children, by which the wisest men may frequently profit. It places them in a position which they quitted long before they could register their observations, and enables them, by the help of younger and unworn eyes, to view things in a light in which they can never, but by such reflection, appear to them.' *St. J.*

A Jewish rabbi is reported to have said, 'I have learnt much from my teachers, much from my books, but most of all from my pupils.'

talk in a road,<sup>1</sup> according to the notions they have borrowed, and the prejudices of their education.

121. 4. Perhaps it may not sometimes be amiss to excite their curiosity, by bringing strange and new things<sup>2</sup> in their way, on purpose to engage their inquiry, and give them occasion to inform themselves about them : and if by chance their curiosity leads them to ask, what they should not know ; it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, that it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a falsehood, or a frivolous answer.

122. Pertness, that appears sometimes so early, proceeds from a principle, that seldom accompanies a strong constitution of body, or ripens into a strong judgment of mind. If it were desirable to have a child a more brisk talker, I believe there might ways be found to make him so : but I suppose a wise father had rather that his son should be able and useful, when a man, than pretty company, and a diversion to others, whilst a child : though if that too were to be considered, I think I may say, there is not so much pleasure to have a child prattle agreeably, as to reason well. Encourage therefore his inquisitiveness all you can, by satisfying his demands, and informing his judgment, as far as it is capable. When his reasons are any way tolerable, let him find the credit and commendation of them : and when they are quite out of the way, let him, without being laughed at for his mistake, be gently put into the right ; and if he show a forwardness to be reasoning about things that come in his way, take care as much as you can, that nobody check this inclination in him, or mislead it by captious or fallacious ways of talking with him. For when all

<sup>1</sup> In a road] i.e., as we should say, in a rut, in the same strain, repeating the same ideas in the same phrases.

<sup>2</sup> Strange and new things] Every school should be provided with a small museum, to which the children themselves should be encouraged to contribute.

is done, this, as the highest and most important faculty of our minds, deserves the greatest care and attention in cultivating it : the right improvement, and exercise of our reason being the highest perfection that a man can attain to in this life.

[SECTION XVII. §§ 123-127.]

[ON SAUNTERING.<sup>1</sup>]

123. Contrary to this busy inquisitive temper, there is sometimes observable in children, a listless carelessness, a want of regard to any thing, and a sort of trifling even at their business. This sauntering humour I look on as one of the worst qualities that can appear in a child, as well as one of the hardest to be cured, where it is natural. But it being liable to be mistaken in some cases, care must be taken to make a right judgment concerning that trifling at their books or business, which may sometimes be complained of in a child. Upon the first suspicion a father has, that his son is of a sauntering temper, he must carefully observe him, whether he be listless and indifferent in all his actions, or whether in some things alone he be slow and sluggish, but in others vigorous and eager. For though we find that he does loiter at his book, and let a good deal of the time he spends in his chamber or study run idly away ; he must not presently<sup>2</sup> conclude, that this is from a sauntering humour in his temper. It may be childishness, and preferring something to his study, which his thoughts run on : and he dislikes his book,

<sup>1</sup> **Sauntering**] i.e. dawdling generally. This habit is mainly owing to lack of interest and want of concentration, the latter being consequent upon the former. The remedy for it, therefore, is mainly in the hands of the teacher.

<sup>2</sup> **Presently**] Forthwith, at once.

as is natural, because it is forced upon him as a task. To know this perfectly, you must watch him at play, when he is out of his place and time of study, following his own inclinations, and see there whether he be stirring and active; whether he designs any thing, and with labour and eagerness pursues it, till he has accomplished what he aimed at, or whether he lazily and listlessly dreams away his time. If this his sloth be only when he is about his book, I think it may be easily cured. If it be in his temper, it will require a little more pains and attention to remedy it.

124. If you are satisfied by his earnestness at play, or any thing else he sets his mind on, in the intervals between his hours of business, that he is not of himself inclined to laziness, but that only want of relish of his book makes him negligent, and sluggish in his application to it; the first step is to try, by talking to him kindly of the folly and inconvenience of it, whereby he loses a good part of his time, which he might have for his diversion: but be sure to talk calmly and kindly, and not much at first, but only these plain reasons in short. If this prevails, you have gained the point in the most desirable way, which is that of reason and kindness. If this softer application prevails not, try to shame him out of it, by laughing at him for it, asking every day, when he comes to table, if there be no strangers there, how long he was that day about his business? and if he has not done it, in the time he might be well supposed to have dispatched it, expose and turn him into ridicule<sup>1</sup> for it; but mix no chiding, only put on a pretty cold brow towards him, and keep it till he reform; and let his mother, tutor, and all about him

<sup>1</sup> **Ridicule]** This is always a dangerous remedy to employ, the object of it being, as it would seem to the child, to give him pain by holding him up to laughter. If a boy does not take to his studies, the probability is that the fault lies rather with the course of study, or with the teacher's methods, than with the boy himself.

do so too. If this work not the effect you desire, then tell him he shall be no longer troubled with a tutor to take care of his education, you will not be at the charge to have him spend his time idly with him ; but since he prefers this or that (whatever play he delights in) to his book, that only he shall do ; and so in earnest set him to work on his beloved play, and keep him steadily, and in earnest, to it morning and afternoon, till he be fully surfeited,<sup>1</sup> and would, at any rate, change it for some hours at his book again. But when you thus set him his task of play, you must be sure to look after him yourself, or set some body else to do it, that may constantly see him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too. I say, yourself look after him ; for it is worth the father's while, whatever business he has, to bestow two or three days upon his son, to cure so great a mischief as his sauntering at his business.

125. This is ~~what I propose~~, if it be idleness, not from his general temper, but a peculiar or acquired aversion to learning, which you must be careful to examine and distinguish. But though you have your eyes upon him, to watch what he does with the time which he has at his own disposal, yet you must not let him perceive that you or any body else do so : for that may hinder him from following his own inclination, which he being full of, and not daring, for fear of you, to prosecute what his head and heart are set upon, he may neglect all other things, which then he relishes not, and so may seem to be idle and listless, when in truth it is nothing but being intent on that, which the fear of your eye or knowledge keeps him from executing. To be clear in this point, the observation must be made when you are out of

<sup>1</sup> **Fully surfeited]** This also is a dangerous remedy. 'If it is not to produce the very opposite results, it must be applied with relentless severity, and in any case is somewhat impracticable.' S.

the way, and he not so much as under the restraint of a suspicion that any body has an eye upon him. In those seasons of perfect freedom, let somebody you can trust, mark how he spends his time, whether he unactively loiters it away, when, without any check, he is left to his own inclination. Thus, by his employment of such times of liberty, you will easily discern whether it be listlessness in his temper, or aversion to his book, that makes him saunter away his time of study.

126. If some defect in his constitution has cast a damp on his mind, and he be naturally listless and dreaming, this unpromising disposition is none of the easiest to be dealt with, because, generally carrying with it an unconcernedness for the future, it wants the two great springs of action, foresight and desire; which, how to plant and increase, where nature has given a cold and contrary temper, will be the question. As soon as you are satisfied that this is the case, you must carefully inquire whether there be nothing he delights in: inform yourself, what it is he is most pleased with; and if you can find any particular tendency his mind hath, increase it all you can, and make use of that to set him on work, and to excite his industry. If he loves praise, or play, or fine clothes, &c., or, on the other side, dreads pain, disgrace, or your displeasure, &c., whatever it be<sup>1</sup> that he loves most, except it be sloth

<sup>1</sup> **Whatever it be]** This is somewhat dangerous advice, and if carried out may foster tendencies still more objectionable than the habit of sauntering. The teacher will show his discretion, not by appealing to *any* motive, but by appealing to legitimate motives, and by following the child's own natural tastes and aptitudes until good intellectual habits have been formed through them. There is scarcely any subject of human interest which may not be used as an instrument of education. Custom leads us to think that all children must pass through the same educational groove. As a matter of fact, the intellectual powers may be cultivated in an endless variety of ways, as we may see in the case of persons who have educated themselves. The



(for that will never set him on work) let that be made use of to quicken him, and make him bestir himself. For in this listless temper, you are not to fear an excess of appetite (as in all other cases) by cherishing it. It is that which you want, and therefore must labour to raise and increase; for where there is no desire, there will be no industry.

127. If you have not hold enough upon him this way to stir up vigour and activity in him, you must employ him in some constant bodily labour, whereby he may get a habit of doing some thing. The keeping him hard to some study were the better way to get him a habit of exercising and applying his mind. But because this is an invisible attention, and nobody can tell when he is, or is not idle at it, you must find bodily employments for him, which he must be constantly busied in, and kept to; and if they have some little hardship and shame in them, it may not be the worse, that they may the sooner weary him, and make him desire to return to his book. But be sure, when you exchange his book for his other labour, set him such a task, to be done in such a time, as may allow him no opportunity to be idle.<sup>1</sup> Only after you have by this way brought him to be attentive and industrious at his book, you may, upon his dispatch-

instinct of curiosity grows with what it feeds on. One department of knowledge is linked on to another, and if a child be interested in any department whatsoever, he may be ultimately led on to take an interest in other departments to which he is at present, perhaps, wholly indifferent.

<sup>1</sup> **No opportunity to be idle]** The habit of idleness is generally the consequence of neglect somewhere. It is a great mistake to suppose that children love idleness. There is nothing which they detest more. What gives the teacher trouble is not idleness, but misdirected activity. If children are allowed more time for their tasks than they really require; if their work is not properly examined when it is done; if they are not supervised when engaged on tasks of an uninviting character, it ought not to surprise us that they contract a habit of dawdling. There should be a sharp line drawn between work and play. Both should be carried on in earnest while they last.

ing his study within the time set him, give him, as a reward, some respite from his other labour; which you may diminish as you find him grow more and more steady in his application, and, at last wholly take off, when his sauntering at his book is cured.

[SECTION XVIII. §§ 128-129.]

[ON COMPULSION.]

128. We formerly observed, that variety and freedom was that that delighted children, and recommended their plays to them; and that therefore their book, or any thing we would have them learn, should not be enjoined them as business. This their parents, tutors, and teachers are apt to forget; and their impatience to have them busied in what is fit for them to do, suffers them not to deceive them into it: but by the repeated injunctions they meet with, children quickly distinguish between what is required of them, and what not. When this mistake has once made his book uneasy to him, the cure is to be applied at the other end. And since it will be then too late to endeavour to make it a play to him, you must take the contrary course: observe what play he is most delighted with; enjoin that, and make him play<sup>1</sup> so many hours every day, not as a punishment for playing, but as if it were the business required of him. This, if I mistake not, will in a few days make

<sup>1</sup> **Make him play]** It does not follow that when he is tired of one game, he will take kindly to his books. His desire after novelty will more naturally seek to satisfy itself in some other game. Further, a boy would soon find out that the unlimited play at which he was kept was not play at all, but a disguised punishment, and once the discovery was made, the object of the teacher would be defeated. Direct appeals to the love of knowledge, the love of activity, the love of approbation, and the love of power, are better than any roundabout method such as that described by Locke.

him so weary of his most beloved sport, that he will prefer his book, or any thing, to it, especially if it may redeem him from any part of the task of play which is set him, and he may be suffered to employ some part of the time destined to his task of play, in his book, or such other exercise as is really useful to him. This I at least think a better cure than that forbidding, (which usually increases the desire,) or any other punishment should be made use of to remedy it: for when you have once glutted his appetite (which may safely be done in all things but eating and drinking) and made him surfeit of what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a principle of aversion, and you need not so much fear afterwards his longing for the same thing again.

129. This, I think, is sufficiently evident, that children ~~generally hate to be idle~~. All the care then is, that their busy humour should be constantly employed in something of use to them; which, if you will attain, you must make what you would have them do, a recreation to them, and not a business. The way to do this, so that they may not perceive you have any hand in it, is this proposed here; viz. to make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by enjoining and making them, under some pretence or other, do it till they are surfeited. For example: does your son play at top and scourge<sup>1</sup> too much? Enjoin him to play so many hours every day, and look that he do it; and you shall see he will quickly be sick of it, and willing to leave it. By this means making the recreations you dislike a business to him, he will of himself with delight betake himself to those things you would have him do, especially if they be proposed as rewards for having performed his task in that play which is commanded him. For, if he be ordered every day to whip his top, so long as

<sup>1</sup> Top and scourge] i.e. whip-top.

to make him sufficiently weary, do you not think he will apply himself with eagerness to his book, and wish for it, if you promise it him as a reward of having whipped his top lustily, quite out all the time that is set him? Children, in the things they do, if they comport with their age, find little difference so they may be doing; the esteem they have for one thing above another they borrow from others; so that what those about them make to be a reward to them, will really be so. By this art it is in their governor's choice, whether scotch-hoppers<sup>1</sup> shall reward their dancing, or dancing their scotch-hoppers; whether peg-top, or reading; playing at trap, or studying the globes, shall be more acceptable and pleasing to them; all that they desire being to be busy, and busy, as they imagine, in things of their own choice, and which they receive as favours from their parents, or others, for whom they have respect, and with whom they would be in credit. A set of children thus ordered, and kept from the ill examples of others, would all of them, I suppose, with as much earnestness and delight, learn to read, write, and what else one would have them, as others do their ordinary plays: and the eldest being thus entered,<sup>2</sup> and this made the fashion of the place, it would be as impossible to hinder them from learning the one, as it is ordinarily to keep them from the other.

## [SECTION XIX. § 130.]

## [ON PLAY-GAMES.]

130. Play-things, I think, children should have, and of divers sorts; but still<sup>3</sup> to be in the custody of their tutors, or somebody else, whereof the child should

<sup>1</sup> **Scotch-hoppers**] See note 1, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> **Entered**] i.e. commenced with.

<sup>3</sup> **Still**] i.e. always.

have in his power but one at once, and should not be suffered to have another but when he restored that. This teaches them betimes to be careful of not losing or spoiling the things they have ; whereas plenty and variety in their own keeping, makes them wanton and careless, and teaches them from the beginning to be squanderers and wasters. These, I confess, are little things, and such as will seem beneath the care of a governor ; but nothing that may form children's minds is to be overlooked and neglected,<sup>1</sup> and whatsoever introduces habits, and settles customs in them, deserves the care and attention of their governors, and is not a small thing in its consequences.

One thing more about children's play-things may be worth their parents' care. Though it be agreed they should have of several sorts, yet, I think, they should have none bought for them. This will hinder that great variety they are often over-charged with, which serves only to teach the mind to wander after change and superfluity, to be unquiet, and perpetually stretching itself after something more still, though it knows not what, and never to be satisfied with what it hath. The court that is made to people of condition in such kind of presents to their children, does the little ones great harm. By it they are taught pride, vanity and covetousness, almost before they can speak : and I have known a young child so distracted with the number and variety of his play-games, that he tired his maid every day to look them over ; and was so accustomed to abundance, that he never thought he had enough, but was always asking, What more ? What more ? What new thing shall I have ? A good introduction to moderate desires, and the ready way to make a contented, happy man !

<sup>1</sup> **Neglected]** Locke always has an eye to the ultimate effect of what is done or left undone in education upon the formation of habit. Nothing is trivial in the child which would be a serious matter in the man.

How then shall they have the play-games you allow them, if none must be bought for them? I answer, they should make them themselves, or at least endeavour it, and set themselves about it; till then they should have none, and till then they will want none of any great artifice. A smooth pebble, a piece of paper, the mother's bunch of keys, or any thing they cannot hurt themselves with, serves as much to divert little children, as those more chargeable<sup>1</sup> and curious toys from the shops, which are presently<sup>2</sup> put out of order and broken. Children are never dull or out of humour for want of such play-things, unless they have been used to them: when they are little, whatever occurs serves the turn; and as they grow bigger, if they are not stored<sup>3</sup> by the expensive folly of others, they will make them themselves. Indeed, when they once begin to set themselves to work about any of their inventions, they should be taught and assisted; but should have nothing whilst they lazily sit still, expecting to be furnished from other hands, without employing their own. And if you help them where they are at a stand, it will more endear you to them than any chargeable toys you shall buy for them. Play-things which are above their skill to make, as tops, gigs,<sup>4</sup> battledores, and the like, which are to be used with labour, should indeed be procured them. These it is convenient they should have, not for variety, but exercise; but these too should be given them as bare

<sup>1</sup> Chargeable] i.e. expensive.

<sup>2</sup> Presently] i.e. immediately. The best toys for young children are simple wooden bricks which can be used in constructive games, such as castle-building, &c. These satisfy many instincts at the same time, more especially the love of activity and what Fröbel called the instinct of transformation. A box or shelf of sand and a lump of clay will also afford endless delight and prove of great educational value.

<sup>3</sup> Stored] i.e. supplied with stores.

<sup>4</sup> Gigs] i.e. whirligigs, teetotums, a toy something like a top, and set in motion by the fingers.

as might be. If they had a top, the scourge-stick and leather-strap should be left to their own making and fitting. If they sit gaping to have such things drop into their mouths, they should go without them. This will accustom them to seek for what they want, in themselves, and in their own endeavours; whereby they will be taught moderation in their desires, application, industry, thought, contrivance, and good husbandry; qualities that will be useful to them when they are men, and therefore cannot be learned too soon, nor fixed too deep. All the plays and diversions of children should be directed towards good useful habits, or else they will introduce ill ones.<sup>1</sup> Whatever they do, leaves some impression on that tender age, and from thence they receive a tendency to good or evil: and whatever hath such an influence, ought not to be neglected.

[SECTION XX. §§ 131-133.]

[ON LYING IN CHILDREN.]

131. Lying is so ready and cheap a cover for any miscarriage, and so much in fashion among all sorts of people, that a child can hardly avoid observing the use which is made of it on all occasions, and so can scarce be kept, without great care, from getting into it. But it is so ill a quality, and the mother of so many ill ones that spawn from it, and take shelter under it, that a child should be brought up in the

<sup>1</sup> Ill ones] We are deeply indebted to Fröbel for having shown how games may be used not merely to occupy children, but to cultivate their dawning powers and to form in them good habits. There is still much room, however, for toys that shall be constructed with an eye to the lasting enjoyment which they are capable of affording, and to the educational service which they are likely to render. Mere ingenious contrivances that a child cannot understand may excite intense curiosity for a time, but teach nothing and soon lose their interest.

greatest abhorrence of it imaginable.<sup>1</sup> It should be always ~~(when occasionally it comes to be mentioned)~~ spoke of before him with the utmost detestation, as a quality so wholly inconsistent with the name and character of a gentleman, that nobody of any credit can bear the imputation of a lie ; a mark that is judged the utmost disgrace, which debases a man to the lowest degree of a shameful meanness, and ranks him with the most contemptible part of mankind, and the abhorred rascality ; and is not to be endured in any one who would converse with people of condition, or have any esteem or reputation in the world. The first time he is found in a lie, it should rather be wondered at as a monstrous thing in him, than reproved as an ordinary fault. If that keeps him not from relapsing, the next time he must be sharply rebuked, and fall into the state of great displeasure of his father and mother, and all about him, who take notice of it. And if this way work not the cure, you must come to blows ; for after he has been thus warned, a premeditated lie must always be looked upon as obstinacy, and never be permitted to escape unpunished.

132. Children, afraid to have their faults seen in their naked colours, will, like the rest of the sons

<sup>1</sup> **Imaginable]** Montaigne says : ' In plain truth, lying is a hateful and accursed vice. We are not men, nor have other tie upon one another, but by our word. If we did but discover the horror and ill-consequences of it, we should pursue it with fire and sword, and more justly than other crimes. I see that parents commonly, and with indiscretion enough, correct their children for little innocent faults, and torment them for wanton childish tricks, that have neither impression nor tend to any consequence : whereas, in my opinion, lying only, and (what is of something a lower form) stomach, are the faults which are to be severely whipped out of them, both in the infancy and progress of the vices, which will otherwise grow up with them.' (*Essais*, i. 9.) Parents and teachers are often responsible for the falsehoods of children. Undue severity, and slowness to admit explanation or to extend mercy, are direct temptations to a child who has done wrong to tell a lie to escape the consequences of his misconduct.



of Adam, be apt to make excuses. This is a fault usually bordering upon, and leading to untruth, and is not to be indulged in them; but yet it ought to be cured rather with shame than roughness. If therefore, when a child is questioned for any thing, his first answer be an excuse, warn him soberly to tell the truth; and then if he persists to shuffle it off with a falsehood, he must be chastised: but if he directly confess, you must commend his ingenuity,<sup>1</sup> and pardon that fault, be it what it will; and pardon it so, that you never so much as reproach him with it, or mention it to him again: for if you would have him in love with ingenuity, and by a constant practice make it habitual to him, you must take care that it never procure him the least inconvenience; but on the contrary, his own confession bringing always with it perfect impunity, should be besides encouraged by some marks of approbation. If his excuse be such at any time that you cannot prove it to have any falsehood in it, let it pass for true, and be sure not to show any suspicion of it. Let him keep up his reputation,<sup>2</sup> with you as high as is possible: for when once he finds he has lost that, you have lost a great, and your best hold upon him. Therefore let him not think he has the character of a liar with you, as long as you can avoid it without flattering him in it. Thus some slips in truth may be overlooked. But after he has once been corrected for a lie, you must be sure never after to pardon it in him, whenever you find, and take notice to him that he is guilty of it: for

<sup>1</sup> **Ingenuity**] i.e. ingenuousness. See note 1, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> **Keep up his reputation**] Once a child feels that his reputation for any virtue is gone, he has lost one of the strongest motives to the exercise of that virtue, viz., the desire to deserve the confidence reposed in him. Hence we should be very careful not to suspect a child without good reason, lest he should be tempted to reason that, having paid the penalty due to an offence which he had not committed, he might as well be guilty of the offence.

it being a fault which he has been forbid, and may, unless he be wilful, avoid, the repeating of it is perfect perverseness, and must have the chastisement due to that offence.

133. This is what I have thought concerning the general method of educating a young gentleman; which, though I am apt to suppose may have some influence on the whole course of his education, yet I am far from imagining it contains all those particulars which his growing years or peculiar temper may require. But this being premised in general, we shall, in the next place, descend to a more particular consideration of the several parts of his education.

[SECTION XXI. §§ 134-137.]

[ON THE WORSHIP OF GOD AS THE FOUNDATION OF VIRTUE.]

134. That which every gentleman (that takes any care of his education) desires for his son, besides the estate he leaves him, is contained (I suppose) in these four things, virtue, wisdom, breeding,<sup>1</sup> and learning. I will not trouble myself whether these names do not some of them sometimes stand for the same thing, or really include one another. It serves my turn here to follow the popular use of these words, which I presume, is clear enough to make me be understood, and I hope there will be no difficulty to comprehend my meaning.

135. I place virtue as the first and most necessary of those endowments, that belong to a man or a gentleman; as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable

<sup>1</sup> Breeding] i.e. good-breeding. What Locke calls elsewhere 'civility.'

to himself. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this, nor the other world.

136. As the foundation of this, there ought very early to be imprinted on his mind a true notion of God,<sup>1</sup> as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all things, from whom we receive all our good, who loves us, and gives us all things. And consequent to this, instil into him a love and reverence of this Supreme Being. This is enough to begin with, without going to explain this matter any farther; for fear lest by talking too early to him of spirits,<sup>2</sup> and being unseasonably forward to make him understand the incomprehensible nature of that infinite Being, his head be either filled with false, or perplexed with unintelligible notions of him. Let him only be told upon occasion, that God made and governs all things, hears and sees every thing, and does all manner of good to those who love and obey him; you will find, that being told of such a God, other thoughts will be apt to rise up fast enough in his mind about him: which as you observe them to have any mistakes, you must set right. And I think it would be better, if men generally rested in such an idea of God, without being too curious in their notions about a Being, which all must acknowledge incomprehensible; whereby many, who have not strength and clearness of thought, to distinguish between what they can and what they cannot know,

<sup>1</sup> A true notion of God] It will be observed that Locke would base morality, not on the ground of expediency, but on the nature of God and the relation in which we stand to him. It is true that what is right is also most conducive to our highest welfare, and may be urged on that ground; but it comes before us with a still stronger claim when it comes as a Divine command, for not only is it impossible to conceive that God would require anything from us that was not conducive to our highest welfare, but His commands are supported by all the considerations that spring out of His own attributes and our personal relations to Him.

<sup>2</sup> Spirits] i.e. of spiritual existences, good or evil.

run themselves into superstition or atheism, making God like themselves,<sup>1</sup> or (because they cannot comprehend any thing else) none at all. And I am apt to think, the keeping children constantly morning and evening to acts of devotion to God, as to their Maker, Preserver and Benefactor, in some plain and short form of prayer, suitable to their age and capacity, will be of much more use to them in religion, knowledge, and virtue, than to distract their thoughts with curious inquiries into his inscrutable essence and being.

[SPIRITS AND GOBLINS.]

137. Having by gentle degrees, as you find him capable of it, settled such an idea of God in his mind, and taught him to pray to him, and praise him as the Author of his being, and of all the good he does or can enjoy ; forbear any discourse of other spirits, till the mention of them coming in his way, upon occasion hereafter to be set down, and his reading the scripture-history, put him upon that inquiry.

138. But even then, and always whilst he is young, be sure to preserve his tender mind from all impressions and notions of spirits and goblins, or any fearful apprehensions in the dark. This he will be in danger of from the indiscretion of servants whose usual method is to awe children, and keep them in subjection, by telling them of Raw-head and Bloody-

<sup>1</sup> Like themselves] It is true that there is a danger lest we should make God conform to the image of man. On the other hand, it is somewhat surprising that Locke, who derives all our ideas from observation and reflection, does not see that our ideas of God Himself are only intelligible through human experience. Parental love and truth and purity are the first steps by which a child ascends to the conception of the corresponding attributes of His heavenly Father. That a child may love and revere God, he must be taught something more than Locke suggests, though much less than is commonly taught by teachers, who confound the knowledge of Scripture history with the knowledge of God.

bones, and such other names, as carry with them the ideas of something terrible and hurtful, which they have reason to be afraid of, when alone, especially in the dark. This must be carefully prevented: for though by this foolish way, they may keep them from little faults, yet the remedy is much worse than the disease; and there are stamped upon their imaginations ideas, that follow them with terror and affrightment. Such bug-bear thoughts, once got into the tender minds of children, and being set on with a strong impression, from the dread that accompanies such apprehensions, sink deep, and fasten themselves so as not easily, if ever to be got out again; and whilst they are there, frequently haunt them with strange visions, making children dastards when alone, and afraid of their shadows and darkness all their lives after. I have had those complain to me, when men, who had been thus used when young; that though their reason corrected the wrong ideas they had taken in, and they were satisfied, that there was no cause to fear invisible beings more in the dark than in the light, yet that these notions were apt still upon any occasion to start up first in their prepossessed fancies, and not to be removed without some pains.<sup>1</sup> And to let you see, how lasting and frightful images are, that take place in the mind early, I shall here tell you a pretty remarkable but true story. There was in a town in the west, a man of a disturbed brain, whom the boys used to tease, when he came in their

<sup>1</sup> **Pains]** 'In fact, this belief, when once it has taken possession of the mind, is not to be removed at all. For, in the first place, reason itself teaches us to fear in the dark, since, in whatever direction we move, our steps may lead us among hurtful things, which, because we cannot see them, it is impossible we should avoid. All beings are then invisible; and our dread of spirits clothed with matter, which by experience we know have power to harm, very easily in imaginative persons superinduces the instinctive apprehension of spirits not so clothed, of which indeed they know nothing, but for that reason fear the more.' *St. J.*

way : this fellow one day seeing in the street one of those lads, that used to vex him, stepped into a cutler's shop he was near, and there seizing on a naked sword, made after the boy ; who seeing him coming so armed, betook himself to his feet, and ran for his life, and by good luck, had strength and heels enough to reach his father's house, before the madman could get up to him. The door was only latched ; and when he had the latch in his hand, he turned about his head, to see how near his pursuer was, who was at the entrance of the porch with his sword up, ready to strike, and he had just time to get in and clap to the door to avoid the blow, which, though his body escaped, his mind did not. This frightening idea made so deep an impression there, that it lasted many years, if not all his life after. For, telling this story when he was a man, he said, that after that time till then, he never went in at that door (that he could remember) at any time, without looking back, whatever business he had in his head, or how little soever, before he came thither, he thought of this madman.

If children were let alone, they would be no more afraid in the dark, than in broad sunshine : they would in their turns as much welcome the one for sleep, as the other to play in. There should be no distinction made to them, by any discourse, of more danger, or terrible things in the one than the other : but if the folly of any one about them should do them this harm, and make them think there is any difference between being in the dark and winking, you must get it out of their minds as soon as you can ; and let them know that God, who made all things good for them, made the night that they might sleep the better and the quieter ; and that they being under his protection, there is nothing in the dark to hurt them. What is to be known more of God and good spirits, is to be de-

ferred till the time we shall hereafter mention ; and of evil spirits, it will be well if you can keep him from wrong fancies about them, till he is ripe for that sort of knowledge.

[TRUTH AND GOOD-NATURE.]

139. Having laid the foundations of virtue in a true notion of a God, such as the creed wisely teaches, as far as his age is capable, and by accustoming him to pray to him ; the next thing to be taken care of, is to keep him exactly to speaking of truth, and by all the ways imaginable inclining him to be good-natured. Let him know that twenty faults are sooner to be forgiven, than the straining of truth, to cover any one by an excuse. And to teach him betimes to love, and be good-natured to others, is to lay early the true foundation of an honest man : all injustice generally springing from too great love of ourselves, and too little of others.

This is all I shall say of this matter in general, and is enough for laying the first foundations of virtue in a child : as he grows up, the tendency of his natural inclination must be observed ; which, as it inclines him, more than is convenient, on one or the other side, from the right path of virtue, ought to have proper remedies applied. For few of Adam's children are so happy, as not to be born with some bias in their natural temper, which it is the business of education either to take off, or counterbalance. But to enter into particulars of this, would be beyond the design of this short Treatise of Education. I intend not to discourse of all the virtues and vices, how each virtue is to be attained, and every particular vice by its peculiar remedies cured : though I have mentioned some of the most ordinary faults, and the ways to be used in correcting them.

## [SECTION XXII. § 140.]

## [ON WISDOM.]

140. Wisdom I take, in the popular acceptation,<sup>1</sup> for a man's managing his business ably, and with foresight, in this world. This is the product of a good natural temper, application of mind, and experience together, and so above the reach of children. The greatest thing in them that can be done towards it, is to hinder them, as much as may be, from being cunning; which, being the ape of wisdom, is the most distant from it that can be: and, as an ape for the likeness it has to a man, wanting what really should make him so, is by so much the uglier. Cunning is only the want of understanding,<sup>2</sup> which because it cannot compass its ends by direct ways, would do it by a trick, and circumvention; and the mischief of it is, a cunning trick helps but once, but hinders ever after. No cover was ever made either so big, or so fine as to hide itself.<sup>3</sup> Nobody was ever so cunning as to conceal their being so: and when they are once discovered, every body is shy, every body distrustful of crafty men; and all the world forwardly join<sup>4</sup> to oppose and defeat them: whilst the open, fair, wise man, has every body to make way for him, and goes directly to his business. To accustom a child to have

<sup>1</sup> **The popular acceptation]** This is a narrow definition of wisdom, and would be more applicable to shrewdness. Wisdom consists in the right application of knowledge, and is therefore quite compatible with only a very small amount of knowledge. (See Luke ii. 52.)

<sup>2</sup> **The want of understanding]** Hence Coleridge said that a rogue was a roundabout fool, a fool with a circumbendibus. 'Folly' is constantly used in the Bible in the sense of wickedness.

<sup>3</sup> **To hide itself]** Cf. 'On peut être plus fin qu'un autre, mais non pas plus fin que tous les autres.' (You may outwit one, but not all.)—Roche foucauld.

<sup>4</sup> **Forwardly join]** i.e. are forward in joining.



true notions of things, and not to be satisfied till he has them : to raise his mind to great and worthy thoughts, and to keep him at a distance from falsehood and cunning ; which has always a broad mixture of falsehood in it ; is the fittest preparation of a child for wisdom. The rest, which is to be learned from time, experience, and observation, and an acquaintance with men, their tempers, and designs, is not to be expected in the ignorance and inadvertency of childhood, or the inconsiderate heat and unwariness of youth : all that can be done towards it, during this unripe age, is, as I have said, to accustom them to truth and sincerity ; to a submission to reason ; and as much as may be, to reflection on their own actions.

[SECTION XXIII. §§ 141-146.]

[ON GOOD-BREEDING.]

141. The next good quality belonging to a gentleman, is good-breeding. There are two sorts of ill-breeding : the one a sheepish bashfulness ; and the other a misbecoming negligence and disrespect in our carriage ; both which are avoided by duly observing this one rule, not to think meanly of ourselves, and not to think meanly of others.

142. The first part of this rule must not be understood in opposition to humility, but to assurance. We ought not to think so well of ourselves, as to stand upon<sup>1</sup> our own value ; and assume to ourselves a preference before others, because of any advantage, we may imagine, we have over them ; but modestly to take what is offered when it is our due. But yet we ought to

<sup>1</sup> To stand upon] i.e. to urge obtrusively, to take one's stand upon.

think so well of ourselves, as to perform those actions which are incumbent on, and expected of us, without discomposure or disorder, in whose presence soever we are; keeping that respect and distance, which is due to every one's rank and quality. There is often in people, especially children, a clownish shamefacedness before strangers, or those above them: they are confounded in their thoughts, words, and looks; and so lose themselves, in that confusion, as not to be able to do any thing, or at least not do with that freedom and gracefulness, which pleases, and makes them acceptable. The only cure for this, as for any other miscarriage, is by use to introduce the contrary habit. But since we cannot accustom ourselves to converse with strangers, and persons of quality, without being in their company, nothing can cure this part of ill-breeding, but change and variety of company, and that of persons above us.

143. As the before-mentioned consists in too great a concern how to behave ourselves towards others; so the other part of ill-breeding, lies in the appearance of too little care of pleasing, or showing respect to those we have to do with. To avoid this, these two things are requisite: first, a disposition of the mind not to offend others; and, secondly, the most acceptable, and agreeable way of expressing that disposition. From the one, men are called civil; from the other well-fashioned. The latter of these is that decency and gracefulness of looks, voice, words, motions, gestures, and of all the whole outward demeanor, which takes in company, and makes those with whom we may converse, easy and well pleased. This is, as it were, the language whereby that internal civility of the mind is expressed; which, as other languages are, being very much governed by the

fashion and custom of every country, must, in the rules and practice of it, be learned chiefly from observation, and the carriage of those who are allowed to be exactly well bred. The other part, which lies deeper than the outside, is that general ✓ good-will and regard for all people, which makes any one have a care not to show, in his carriage, any contempt, disrespect, or neglect of them ; but to express, according to the fashion and way of that country, a respect and value for them, according to their rank and condition. It is a disposition of the mind that shows itself in the carriage, whereby a man avoids making any one uneasy in conversation.

I shall take notice of four qualities that are most directly opposite to this first, and most taking of all the social virtues, and from some one of these four it is that incivility commonly has its rise. I shall set them down, that children may be preserved or recovered from their ill influence.

1. The first is, a natural roughness, which makes a man uncomplaisant to others, so that he has no deference for their inclinations, tempers, or conditions. It is the sure badge of a clown, not to mind what pleases or displeases those he is with ; and yet one may often find a man in fashionable clothes, give an unbounded swing to his own humour, and suffer it to jostle or overrun any one that stands in its way, with a perfect indifferency how they take it. This is a brutality that every one sees and abhors, and nobody can be easy with : and therefore this finds no place in any one who would be thought to have the least tincture of good-breeding. For the very end and business of good-breeding, is to supple the natural stiffness, and so soften men's tempers, that they may bend to a compliance, and accommodate themselves to those they have to do with.

2. Contempt, or want of due respect, discovered

either in looks, words, or gesture : this, from whomsoever it comes, brings always uneasiness with it. For nobody can contentedly bear being slighted.

3. Censoriousness, and finding fault with others, has a direct opposition to civility. Men, whatever they are, or are not guilty of, would not have their faults displayed, and set in open view and broad daylight, before their own or other people's eyes. Blemishes affixed to any one always carry shame with them : and the discovery, or even bare imputation of any defect, is not borne without some uneasiness. Rallery<sup>1</sup> is the most refined way of exposing the faults of others : but, because it is usually done with wit and good language, and gives entertainment to the company, people are led into a mistake, that where it keeps within fair bounds, there is no incivility in it. And so the pleasantry of this sort of conversation often introduces it amongst people of the better rank ; and such talkers are favourably heard, and generally applauded by the laughter of the bystanders on their side. But they ought to consider, that the entertainment of the rest of the company is at the cost of that one who is set out in their burlesque colours, who therefore is not without uneasiness, unless the subject for which he is rallied, be really in itself matter of commendation. For then the pleasant images and representations, which make the rallery, carrying praise as well as sport with them, the rallied person also finds his account, and takes part in the diversion. But because the right management of so nice and tickle<sup>2</sup> a business, wherein a little slip may spoil all, is not every body's talent, I think those who would secure themselves from provoking others, especially all young people, should

<sup>1</sup> **Rallery**] i.e. banter, good-humoured pleasantry. Now spelled *raillery*. Fr. *railler*.

<sup>2</sup> **Tickle**] i.e. ticklish.

carefully abstain from rallery, which, by a small mistake, or any wrong turn, may leave upon the mind of those who are made uneasy by it, the lasting memory of having been piquantly though wittily, taunted for something censurable in them.

Besides rallery, contradiction is a sort of censoriousness, wherein ill-breeding often shows itself. Complaisance does not require that we should always admit all the reasonings or relations that the company is entertained with, no, nor silently to let pass all that is vented in our hearing. The opposing the opinions, and rectifying the mistakes of others, is what truth and charity sometimes requires of us, and civility does not oppose,<sup>1</sup> if it be done with due caution and care of circumstances. But there are some people that one may observe, possessed as it were, with the spirit of contradiction, that steadily, and without regard to right or wrong, oppose some one, or perhaps, every one of the company, whatever they say. This is so visible and outrageous a way of censuring, that nobody can avoid thinking himself injured by it. All opposition to what another man has said, is so apt to be suspected of censoriousness, and is so seldom received without some sort of humiliation, that it ought to be made in the gentlest manner, and softest words that can be found, and such as with the whole deportment may express no forwardness to contradict. All marks of respect and good-will ought to accompany it, that whilst we gain the argument, we may not lose the esteem of those that hear us.

✓ 4. Captiousness is another fault opposite to civility; not only because it often produces misbecoming and provoking expressions, and carriage; but because it is a tacit accusation and reproach of some incivility taken notice of in those whom we are

<sup>1</sup> Civility does not oppose] i.e. well-bred persons offer no opposition.

angry with. Such a suspicion or intimation cannot be borne by any one without uneasiness. Besides, one angry body discomposes the whole company, and the harmony ceases upon any such jarring.

- ✓ The happiness that all men so steadily pursue, consisting in pleasure, it is easy to see why the civil are more acceptable than the useful. The ability, sincerity, and good intention of a man of weight and worth, or a real friend, seldom atones for the uneasiness that is produced by his grave and solid representations. Power and riches, nay virtue itself, are valued only as conducting to our happiness. And therefore he recommends himself ill to another, as aiming at his happiness, who, in the services he does him, makes him uneasy in the manner of doing them.
- ✓✓ He that knows how to make those he converses with easy, without debasing himself to low and servile flattery, has found the true art of living in the world, and being both welcome and valued everywhere.
- ✓ Civility therefore is what, in the first place, should with great care be made habitual to children and young people.

144. There is another fault in good manners, and that is excess of ceremony,<sup>1</sup> and an obstinate persisting to force upon another what is not his due, and what he cannot take without folly or shame. This seems rather a design to expose than oblige: or at least looks like a contest for mastery, and at best is but troublesome, and so can be no part of good-breeding, which has no other use or end, but to make people easy and satisfied in their conversation with us. This is a fault few young people are apt to fall into: but yet, if they are ever guilty of it, or are suspected to

<sup>1</sup> Excess of ceremony] So Montaigne says: 'J'ai vu souvent des hommes incivils par trop de civilité, et importuns de courtoisie.' [I have often seen men rude through being over-civil, and troublesome through their excess of courtesy.] *Essais*, i. 13.

incline that way, they should be told of it, and warned of this mistaken civility. The thing they should endeavour and aim at in conversation, should be to show respect, esteem, and goodwill, by paying to every one that common ceremony and regard which is in civility due to them. To do this, without a suspicion of flattery, dissimulation, or meanness, is a great skill, which good sense, reason, and good company, can only teach; but is of so much use in civil life, that it is well worth the studying.

145. Though the managing ourselves well in this part of our behaviour has the name of good-breeding, as if peculiarly the effect of education; yet, as I have said, young children should not be much perplexed about it; I mean, about putting off their hats, and making legs modishly.<sup>1</sup> Teach them humility, and to be good-natured, if you can, and this sort of manners will not be wanting; civility being, in truth, nothing but a care not to show any slighting, or contempt of any one in conversation. What are the most allowed and esteemed ways of expressing this, we have above observed. It is as peculiar and different, in several countries of the world, as their languages; and therefore, if it be rightly considered, rules and discourses made to children about it, are as useless and impertinent as it would be now and then to give a rule or two of the Spanish tongue, to one that converses only with Englishmen. Be as busy as you please with discourses of civility to your son, such as is his company, such will be his manners. A ploughman of your neighbourhood, that has never been out of his parish, read what lectures you please to him, will be as soon in his language as his carriage, a courtier; that is, in neither will be more polite than those he uses to converse with: and therefore of this no other

<sup>1</sup> *Making legs modishly*] i.e. bowing ceremoniously. See note 1, p. 133.

care can be taken, till he be of an age to have a tutor put to him, who must not fail to be a well-bred man. And, in good earnest, if I were to speak my mind freely, so children do nothing out of obstinacy, pride, and ill-nature, it is no great matter how they put off their hats, or make legs. If you can teach them to love and respect other people, they will, as their age requires it, find ways to express it acceptably to every one, according to the fashions they have been used to: and as to their motions and carriage of their bodies, a dancing-master, as has been said, when it is fit, will teach them what is most becoming. In the meantime, when they are young, people expect not that children should be over-mindful of these ceremonies; carelessness is allowed to that age, and becomes them as well as compliments do grown people: or, at least, if some very nice<sup>1</sup> people will think it a fault, I am sure it is a fault that should be overlooked, and left to time, a tutor, and conversation to cure. And therefore I think it not worth your while to have your son (as I often see children are) molested or chid about it: but where there is pride or ill-nature appearing in his carriage, there he must be persuaded or shamed out of it.

Though children, when little, should not be much perplexed with rules and ceremonious parts of breeding, yet there is a sort of unmannerliness very apt to grow up with young people, if not early restrained, and that is a forwardness to interrupt others that are speaking; and to stop them with some contradiction. Whether the custom of disputing, and the reputation of parts and learning usually given to it, as if it were the only standard and evidence of knowledge, make young men so forward to watch occasions to correct others in their discourse, and not to slip any opportunity of showing their talents; so it is, that I have

<sup>1</sup> *Nice*] i.e. fastidious, punctilious.



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<sup>1</sup> Nice] i.e. fastidious, punctilious.

ing or taking any notice of the circle, which could not all the while forbear smiling? This I was told by a person of quality, who was present at the combat, and did not omit to reflect upon the indecencies, that warmth in dispute often runs people into; which since custom makes too frequent, education should take the more care of. There is nobody but condemns this in others, though they overlook it in themselves; and many who are sensible of it in themselves, and resolve against it, cannot yet get rid of an ill custom, which neglect in their education has suffered to settle into a habit.

146. What has been above said concerning company, would perhaps, if it were well reflected on, give us a larger prospect, and let us see how much farther its influence reaches. It is not the modes of civility alone, that are imprinted by conversation:<sup>1</sup> the tincture of company sinks deeper than the outside; and possibly, if a true estimate were made of the morality and religions of the world, we should find, that the far greater part of mankind received even those opinions and ceremonies they would die for, rather from the fashions of their countries, and the constant practice of those about them, than from any conviction of their reasons. I mention this only to let you see of what moment, I think, company is to your son, in all the parts of his life, and therefore how much that one part is to be weighed, and provided for; it being of greater force to work upon him, than all you can do beside.

[SECTION XXIV. §§ 147-195.]

[ON LEARNING.]

147. You will wonder, perhaps, that I put learning last, especially if I tell you I think it the least part.

<sup>1</sup> Conversation] i.e. society, those we associate with.

This may seem strange in the mouth of a bookish man; and this making usually the chief, if not only bustle and stir about children, this being almost that alone, which is thought on, when people talk of education, makes it the greater paradox. When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the schoolmaster's rod, which they look on as the only instrument of education; as a language or two to be its whole business. How else is it possible that a child should be chained to the oar seven, eight, or ten of the best years of his life, to get a language or two, which I think might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time, and be learned almost in play?

Forgive me therefore, if I say, I cannot with patience think, that a young gentleman should be put into the herd, and be driven with a whip and scourge, as if he were to run the gauntlet through the several classes, *ad capiendum ingenii cultum*.<sup>1</sup> What then, say you, would you not have him write and read? Shall he be more ignorant than the clerk of our parish, who takes Hopkins and Sternhold for the best poets in the world, whom yet he makes worse than they are, by his ill reading? Not so, not so fast, I beseech you. Reading, and writing, and learning, I allow to be necessary, but yet not the chief business. I imagine you would think him a very foolish fellow, that should not value a virtuous, or a wise man, infinitely before a great scholar. Not but that I think learning a great help to both in well disposed minds; but yet it must be confessed also, that in others not so disposed, it helps them only to be the more foolish, or worse men. I say this, that when

<sup>1</sup> *Ad capiendum, &c.*] 'For the purpose of acquiring mental culture.'

you consider of the breeding of your son, and are looking out for a schoolmaster, or a tutor, you would not have (as is usual) Latin and logic only in your thoughts. Learning must be had, but in the second place, as subservient only to greater qualities. Seek out somebody, that may know how discreetly to frame his manners: place him in hands where you may, as much as possible, secure his innocence, cherish and nurse up the good, and gently correct and weed out any bad inclinations, and settle in him good habits. This is the main point, and this being provided for, learning may be had into the bargain, and that, as I think, at a very easy rate, by methods that may be thought on.

## [READING.]

148. When he can talk, it is time he should begin to learn to read. But as to this, give me leave here to inculcate again, what is very apt to be forgotten, viz. that great care is to be taken, that it be never made as a business to him, nor he look on it as a task. We naturally, as I said, even from our cradles, love liberty, and have therefore an aversion to many things, for no other reason, but because they are enjoined us. I have always had a fancy, that learning might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honour, credit, delight, and recreation, or as a reward for doing something else; and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this opinion, is, that amongst the Portuguese, it is so much a fashion, and emulation, amongst their children, to learn to read and write, that they cannot hinder them from it: they will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it, as if it were forbidden them. I remember that being at a

friend's house, whose younger son, a child in coats, was not easily brought to his book, (being taught to read at home by his mother,) I advised to try another way than requiring it of him as his duty ; we therefore, in a discourse on purpose amongst ourselves, in his hearing, but without taking any notice of him, declared that it was the privilege and advantage of heirs and elder brothers, to be scholars ; that this made them fine gentlemen, and beloved by every body : and that for younger brothers, it was a favour,<sup>1</sup> to admit them to breeding ; to be taught to read and write, was more than came to their share ; they might be ignorant bumkins and clowns, if they pleased. This so wrought upon the child, that afterwards he desired to be taught ; would come himself to his mother to learn, and would not let his maid be quiet till she heard him his lesson. I doubt not but some way like this might be taken with other children ; and when their tempers are found, some thoughts be instilled into them, that might set them upon desiring of learning themselves, and make them seek it, as another sort of play or recreation. But then, as I said before, it must never be imposed as a task, nor made a trouble to them. There may be dice and play-things,<sup>2</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> **A favour]** It is surprising to find so truthful a writer as Locke recommending an untruthful representation of facts. Education is a right which a child may claim from his parent, and to avail himself of it is a duty which he owes both to God and man. It is, indeed, a privilege, and the value of the privilege may be urged to secure its proper appreciation, but it should not be represented as a favour dependent on social usage or parental caprice. Indeed, absolute mischief would be done if children were led to believe that 'they might be ignorant bumkins and clowns, if they pleased.' Such a view would obscure the fact that we are all bound to cultivate, to the utmost of our power, such faculties as God has given us. Artifices, such as Locke here commends, are 'too clever by half,' and create one evil in removing another. It is far better to put duty on its proper footing.

<sup>2</sup> **Dice and playthings]** 'Quintilian mentions ivory letters as a means of teaching to read. "Non excludo eburneas litterarum formas in lusum offerre." He recommends also, as an excellent way of teaching

the letters on them, to teach children the alphabet by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular tempers, to make this kind of learning a sport to them.

149. Thus children may be cozened<sup>1</sup> into a knowledge of the letters; be taught to read, without perceiving it to be any thing but a sport, and play themselves into that which others are whipped for. Children should not have any thing like work,<sup>2</sup> or serious, laid on them; neither their minds, nor bodies will bear it. It injures their healths; and their being forced and tied down to their books in an age at enmity with all such restraint, has, I doubt not, been the reason, why a great many have hated books and learning all their lives after. It is like a surfeit, that leaves an aversion behind not to be removed.

150. I have therefore thought, that if play-things were fitted to this purpose, as they are usually to none, contrivances might be made to teach children to read, whilst they thought they were only playing. For example, what if an ivory ball were made like that of the Royal-oak lottery,<sup>3</sup> with thirty-two sides,

to write, the use of wooden tablets in which the letters are cut in such a way that the child runs no risk of quitting the outline. It was an improvement upon the method followed in Greece. At Athens writing-masters traced the letters with a bodkin upon tablets of wax, and the pupil, taking in his turn the bodkin, followed the outline traced in the wax.' (Compayré, i. 32, note.)

<sup>1</sup> Cozened] i.e. beguiled, cheated.

<sup>2</sup> Work] Locke must be understood to refer here to very young children.

<sup>3</sup> Royal-oak lottery] One of the many lotteries sanctioned by Charles II. It was called after the famous Boscobel oak in which he lay concealed when a fugitive. The evils to which it gave rise are set forth in a remarkable tract, entitled '*The Arraignment, Trial, and Condemnation of Squire Lottery, alias Royal Oak Lottery*, London, 1699.' (See Hone's *Every-day Book*, ii. 712.)

It is hardly necessary to remark that much safer methods of teaching the alphabet have been devised than that here suggested. But great credit is due to Locke for recognising the importance of relieving the earlier stages of learning to read by means of amusing games.

or one rather of twenty-four, or twenty-five sides ; and upon several of those sides pasted on an A, upon several others B, on others C, and on others D? I would have you begin with but these four letters, or perhaps only two at first ; and when he is perfect in them, then add another ; and so on, till each side having one letter, there be on it the whole alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a sort of play to lay a stake who shall first throw an A or B, as who upon dice shall throw six or seven. This being a play amongst you, tempt him not to it, lest you make it business ; for I would not have him understand it is any thing but a play of older people, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himself. And that he may have the more reason to think it is a play, that he is sometimes in favour admitted to ; when the play is done, the ball should be laid up safe out of his reach, that so it may not, by his having it in his keeping at any time, grow stale to him.

151. To keep up his eagerness to it, let him think it a game belonging to those above him : and when by this means, he knows the letters, by changing them into syllables, he may learn to read, without knowing how he did so, and never have any chiding or trouble about it, nor fall out with books, because of the hard usage and vexation they had caused him. Children, if you observe them, take abundance of pains to learn several games, which, if they should be enjoined them, they would abhor as a task and business. I know a person of great quality, (more yet to be honoured for his learning and virtue, than for his rank and high place,) who by pasting on the six vowels (for in our language Y is one) on the six sides of a die, and the remaining eighteen consonants on the sides of three other dice, has made this a play for his children, that he shall win, who, at one cast, throws most words on



these four dice ; whereby his eldest son, yet in coats, has played himself into spelling, with great eagerness, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it.

152. I have seen little girls exercise whole hours together, and take abundance of pains to be expert at Dibstones,<sup>1</sup> as they call it; whilst I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only some good contrivance to make them employ all that industry about something that might be more useful to them ; and methinks it is only the fault and negligence of elder people, that it is not so. Children are much less apt to be idle than men ; and men are to be blamed if some part of that busy humour be not turned to useful things ; which might be made usually as delightful to them as those they are employed in, if men would be but half so forward to lead the way, as these little apes would be to follow. I imagine some wise Portuguese heretofore began this fashion amongst the children of his country, where I have been told, as I said, it is impossible to hinder the children from learning to read and write : and in some parts of France they teach one another to sing and dance from the cradle.

153. The letters pasted upon the sides of the dice, or polygon, were best to be of the size of those of the folio Bible, to begin with, and none of them capital letters ;<sup>2</sup> when once he can read what is printed in

<sup>1</sup> **Dibstones]** A game originally played with the ankle-bones (*ἀστρογάλοι, tali*) of certain animals, for which little stones are now substituted. Coste's translation reads here : 'J'ai vu de petites filles qui passaient des heures entières à prendre beaucoup de peine pour se rendre habiles à un certain jeu, où il faut ramasser de terre une pierre avec assez de vitesse pour avoir le temps de reprendre aussitôt après une autre pierre qu'on a jettée en l'air, avant qu'elle tombe à terre.' This is an exact description of a game played by children in the West of England under the name of 'Jack-stones.'

<sup>2</sup> **None of them capital letters]** There may be some difference of opinion on this point, but most teachers would agree as to the ex-

such letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones: and in the beginning he should not be perplexed with variety. With this die also, you might have a play just like the Royal-Oak, which would be another variety, and play for cherries or apples, &c.

154. Besides these, twenty other plays might be invented, depending on letters, which those who like this way, may easily contrive and get made to this use if they will. But the four dice above mentioned I think so easy and useful, that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be scarce need of any other.

155. Thus much for learning to read, which let him never be driven to, nor chid for; cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a business for him. It is better it be a year later before he can read, than that he should this way get an aversion to learning. If you have any contests with him, let it be in matters of moment, of truth, and good nature; but lay no task on him about A B C. Use your skill to make his will supple and pliant to reason: teach him to love credit and commendation; to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, especially by you and his mother, and then the rest will come all easily. But, I think, if you will do that, you must not shackle and tie him up with rules about indifferent matters, nor rebuke him for every little fault, or perhaps some, that to others would seem great ones; but of this I have said enough already.

156. When by these gentle ways he begins to be able to read, some easy pleasant book suited to his capacity, should be put into his hands, wherein the

pediency of teaching only one alphabet at a time. It sometimes happens that a child has to learn four alphabets at one time, two for reading and two for writing. The capital letters in Egyptian type (A, B, C) are easiest for children to learn and reproduce.

entertainment that he finds might draw him on,<sup>1</sup> and reward his pains in reading, and yet not such as should fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of vice and folly. To this purpose, I think Æsop's fables the best, which being stories apt to delight and entertain a child, may yet afford useful reflections to a grown man, and if his memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongst his manly thoughts and serious business. If his Æsop has pictures<sup>2</sup> in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the increase of knowledge with it: for such visible objects children hear talked of in vain, and without any satisfaction, whilst they have no ideas of them; those ideas being not to be had from sounds, but from the things themselves, or their pictures. And therefore, I think, as soon as he begins to spell, as many pictures of animals should be got him as can be found, with the printed names to them, which at the same time will invite him to read, and afford him matter of inquiry and knowledge. Reynard the Fox<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Draw him on]** Half the battle is won when children have been got to find a pleasure in reading. For this reason the teacher should not be in too much of a hurry to use the reading-book as a channel for conveying information. His first task is to get his pupils over the mechanical difficulties of learning to read, and in this stage the acquisition of information should be subordinated to such intellectual pleasure as children are capable of deriving through reading.

<sup>2</sup> **Pictures]** Pictures not only convey certain ideas which are very inadequately conveyed by language; they gratify the æsthetic faculty, and afford invaluable exercise to the much-neglected faculty of imagination.

<sup>3</sup> **Reynard the Fox]**, the famous 'beast-epic' of Germany, was a satire upon the state of society in Germany in feudal times. Reynard the Fox is the Church, who is represented as constantly trying to get the better of his uncle Isengrin, the wolf, who represents the feudal baron. The story was published in German in rhyme by Henry of Alkmaar, in 1498. Our own Caxton had previously published an English translation of the story in 1481. In France 'it became so popular,' says Hallam, 'as to change the very name of the principal animal, which was called *goupil* (*vulpes*) till the fourteenth century, when it assumed, from the hero of the tale, the name of Renard.' (i. 137.)

is another book, I think, may be made use of to the same purpose. And if those about him will talk to him often about the stories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, besides other advantages, add encouragement and delight to his reading, when he finds there is some use and pleasure in it. These baits seem wholly neglected in the ordinary method; and it is usually long before learners find any use or pleasure in reading, which may tempt them to it, and so take books only for fashionable amusements, or impertinent troubles, good for nothing.

157. The Lord's prayer, the creeds, and ten commandments, it is necessary he should learn perfectly by heart; but, I think, not by reading them himself in his primer, but by somebody's repeating them to him, even before he can read. But learning by heart, and learning to read, should not, I think, be mixed, and so one made to clog the other. But his learning to read should be made as little trouble or business to him as might be.

What other books there are in English of the kind of those above mentioned, fit to engage the liking of children, and tempt them to read, I do not know: but am apt to think, that children, being generally delivered over to the method of schools, where the fear of the rod is to inforce, and not any pleasure of the employment to invite them to learn, this sort of useful books, amongst the number of silly ones that are of all sorts, have yet had the fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been considered of this kind out of the ordinary road of the horn-book,<sup>1</sup> primer, psalter, Testament, and Bible.

<sup>1</sup> **The horn-book]** The horn-book was a little sheet of the letters of the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer, set in a light frame and covered with a thin sheet of horn. Cf.:

'Neatly secured from being soiled or torn,  
Beneath a pane of thin translucent horn,

158. As for the Bible, which children are usually employed in to exercise and improve their talent in reading,<sup>1</sup> I think the promiscuous reading of it through by chapters as they lie in order, is so far from being of any advantage to children, either for the perfecting their reading, or principling their religion, that perhaps a worse could not be found. For what pleasure or encouragement can it be to a child to exercise himself in reading those parts of a book where he understands nothing? And how little are the law of Moses, the Song of Solomon, the prophecies in the Old, and the Epistles and Apocalypse in the New Testament, suited to a child's capacity! And though the History of the Evangelists, and the Acts, have something easier, yet, taken altogether, it is very disproportional to the understanding of childhood. I grant, that the principles of religion are to be drawn from thence, and in the words of the Scripture; yet none should be proposed to a child, but such as are suited to a child's capacity and notions. But it is far from this to read through the whole Bible, and that for reading's sake. And what an odd jumble of thoughts must a child have in his head, if he have any at all,

A book (to please us at a tender age  
'Tis called a book, though but a single page)  
Presents the prayer the Saviour deigned to teach,  
Which children use, and parsons—when they preach.'

COWPER, *Tirocinium*, 119-25.

<sup>1</sup> To exercise and improve their talent in reading] This practice is now almost universally condemned. Children may have lessons drawn from the Bible at a very early age, but they should not read the Bible in class until they can read it with a fair comprehension of the meaning; and they should certainly not read it indiscriminately. There are parts of it utterly unsuited for children; there are other parts which no epitome and no amplification can ever supersede. It is highly desirable that the Bible should be read in the Scripture lesson, though not as a reading-book. The difference would be marked by the teacher's manner, the kind of corrections made, the absence of taking places, and other ways, the reasons for which children would soon recognise.

such as he should have concerning religion, who in his tender age reads all the parts of the Bible indifferently as the word of God, without any other distinction. I am apt to think, that this, in some men, has been the very reason why they never had clear and distinct thoughts of it all their lifetime.

159. And now I am by chance fallen on this subject, give me leave to say, that there are some parts of Scripture which may be proper to be put into the hands of a child to engage him to read ; such as are the story of Joseph and his brethren, of David and Goliath, of David and Jonathan, &c., and others, that he should be made to read for his instruction, as that, what you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them ; and such other easy and plain moral rules which being fitly chosen, might often be made use of, both for reading and instruction together ; and so often read till they are thoroughly fixed in the memory ; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their turns, on fit occasions, be inculcated as the standing and sacred rules of his life and actions. But the reading of the whole Scripture indifferently, is what, I think, is very inconvenient for children, till after having been made acquainted with the plainest fundamental parts of it, they have got some kind of general view of what they ought principally to believe and practise ; which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very words of the Scripture, and not in such, as men prepossessed by systems and analogies, are apt in this case to make use of, and force upon them. Dr. Worthington, to avoid this, has made a catechism, which has all its answers in the precise words of the Scripture ;<sup>1</sup> a thing

<sup>1</sup> [Scripture] Coste very sensibly points out that a theologian might easily compose such a catechism, into which he might introduce all the dogmas of his party, whether they were founded or not upon actual passages of Holy Scripture. 'In vain,' he says, 'are the answers drawn from the Scripture; the questions to which they are replies will

of good example, and such a sound form of words as no Christian can except against, as not fit for his child to learn. Of this, as soon as he can say the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments by heart, it may be fit for him to learn a question every day, or every week, as his understanding is able to receive, and his memory to retain them. And when he has this catechism perfectly by heart, so as readily and roundly<sup>1</sup> to answer to any question in the whole book, it may be convenient to lodge in his mind the remaining moral rules scattered up and down in the Bible, as the best exercise of his memory, and that which may always be a rule to him, ready to hand in the whole conduct of his life.

## [WRITING.]

160. When he can read English well, it will be seasonable to enter him in writing:<sup>2</sup> and here the first thing should be taught him, is to hold his pen right; and this he should be perfect in, before he should be suffered to put it to paper: for not only children, but any body else, that would do any thing well, should never be put upon too much of it at once, or be set to perfect themselves in two parts of an action at the same time, if they can possibly be separated. I think the Italian way of holding the

always determine the sense of the Scripture, according to the intention of him who proposes the question, especially as he takes the liberty to insert in the answer only as much of the words of Scripture as he finds convenient.' It is noteworthy that Locke would have children taught the Creeds, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. See § 157.

<sup>1</sup> **Roundly**] i.e. smoothly. Locke elsewhere writes: 'When the mind has brought itself to attention, it will be able to cope with difficulties and master them, and then it may go *roundly*.'

<sup>2</sup> **Writing**] There is no reason why writing should be deferred till the pupil has learned to read. Children should learn reading and writing simultaneously. The former may be greatly helped by the latter. This is the invariable practice in German schools,

pen between the thumb and the forefinger alone,<sup>1</sup> may be best : but in this you should consult some good writing-master, or any other person, who writes well and quick. When he has learned to hold his pen right, in the next place he should learn how to lay his paper, and place his arm and body to it. These practices being got over, the way to teach him to write without much trouble, is to get a plate graved with the characters of such a hand as you like best : but you must remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he should ordinarily write ; for every one naturally comes by degrees to write a less hand than he at first was taught, but never a bigger. Such a plate being graved, let several sheets of good writing-paper be printed off with red ink, which he has nothing to do but go over with a good pen filled with black ink, which will quickly bring his hand to the formation of those characters, being at first showed where to begin, and how to form every letter. And when he can do that well, he must then exercise on fair<sup>2</sup> paper ; and so may easily be brought to write the hand you desire.

## [DRAWING.]

161. When he can write well and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the exercise of his hand in writing, but also to improve the use of it further in drawing ;<sup>3</sup> a thing very use-

<sup>1</sup> **Between the thumb and the forefinger alone]** This is contrary to the canon of modern teachers of writing, who direct that the fore-finger and middle-finger should be placed on the pen. This section is a good specimen of the practical character of Locke's mind. The method which he recommends of printing off writing characters in pale ink and getting the child to go over them is followed in most elementary schools. But the most valuable part of his advice is that which recommends the teacher to divide the difficulties and attack them in detail. This principle is applicable to any method.

<sup>2</sup> **Fair]** Blank.

<sup>3</sup> **Drawing]** The same remark may be made about drawing



ful to a gentleman in several occasions ; but especially if he travel, as that which helps a man often to express, in a few lines well put together, what a whole sheet of paper in writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many buildings may a man see, how many machines and habits meet with, the ideas whereof would be easily retained and communicated by a little skill in drawing ; which being committed to words are in danger to be lost, or, at best, but ill retained in the most exact descriptions ? I do not mean that I would have your son a perfect painter ; to be that to any tolerable degree, will require more time than a young gentleman can spare from his other improvements of greater moment. But so much insight into perspective and skill in drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on paper any thing he sees, except faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, especially if he have a genius to it ; but where that is wanting, unless it be in things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpose : and therefore in this, as in all other things not absolutely necessary, the rule holds, *Nil invitâ Minervâ*.<sup>1</sup>

## [SHORT-HAND.]

Short-hand, an art, as I have been told, known only in England,<sup>2</sup> may perhaps be thought worth the

about writing. There is no reason why it should be deferred so long as Locke would have it. It is a pleasurable exercise, gives children control over their fingers, teaches them to observe closely, and cultivates the æsthetic faculty. Genius is not wanted for elementary drawing. Every child could easily acquire so much as is necessary for the purposes Locke mentions.

<sup>1</sup> *Nil invitâ Minervâ*] 'Attempt nothing, if the goddess of wisdom be not propitious,' i.e. if there be no natural aptitude.

<sup>2</sup> *Only in England*] This is a mistake. The art of writing in shorthand was known both to the Greeks and Romans. 'The invention of stenography among the Greeks is generally ascribed to Xenophon

learning, both for dispatch in what men write for their own memory, and concealment of what they would not have lie open to every eye. For he that has once learned any sort of character, may easily vary it to his own private use or fancy, and with more contraction suited to the business he would employ it in. Mr. Rich's,<sup>1</sup> the best contrived of any I have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and considers grammar well, be made much easier and shorter. But for the learning this compendious way of writing, there will be no need hastily to look out a master ; it will be early enough when any convenient opportunity offers itself, at any time after his hand is well settled in fair and quick writing. For boys have but little use of short-hand, and should by no means practise it till they write perfectly well, and have thoroughly fixed the habit of doing so.

the historian ; but it is said that the art was first practised by Pythagoras, and that the poet Ennius was the first who adopted a system of short writing by which a person was enabled to follow a speaker. It is said, though upon no certain testimony, that he commenced by employing eleven hundred marks of his own invention, and increased the number as circumstances required. There are also writers who ascribe the invention of the art to Cicero ; and it was certainly practised by him on account of its brevity and secrecy. He reminds his friend Atticus that he wrote (*διὰ σημείων*) by signs. The art was communicated by Cicero to Tiro, his freedman, who made considerable improvements in it, and is said to have been likewise the first person who applied it to the purpose of taking down public speeches. Eusebius attributes the invention to Tiro. The oration of Cato, relative to the Catilinarian conspiracy, was preserved by means of shorthand. We are informed by Plutarch, in his *Life of Cato*, that on the occasion of that speech, 'Cicero dispersed about the senate-house several expert writers whom he had taught to make certain figures, and who did, in little and short strokes, equivalent to words, pen down all that he said.' (*Penny Cyclopædia*.) The expression quoted above from Cicero's letter may refer to cipher-writing. The first English treatise on stenography, published in 1588, was written by Dr. Timothy Bright, whose method consisted in the employment of an arbitrary sign for each word. It was not till 1602 that a complete shorthand alphabet was devised, when one was put forth by John Willis in a book entitled *The Art of Stenographie or Short Writing by Spelling Characterie*. His alphabet was very difficult and complex, and was rapidly improved upon by others.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rich's] This system was published in 1654.

## [FRENCH.]

162. As soon as he can speak English, it is time for him to learn some other language. This nobody doubts of, when French is proposed. And the reason is, because people are accustomed to the right way of teaching that language, which is by talking it into children in constant conversation, and not by grammatical rules. The Latin tongue<sup>1</sup> would easily be taught the same way, if his tutor, being constantly

<sup>1</sup> The Latin tongue] A synthetic language, like Latin, scarcely stands on the same footing as an analytic language like French, nor does it follow that a method suitable for one stage of education is suitable for another. We learn our mother-tongue conversationally in the first few years of our lives, but then we have very little else to learn; our mental efforts are almost exclusively restricted to learning the names and properties of things, to expressing our simple needs, and to gathering inductively the meaning of what is said by those about us. The stimulus to learn our mother-tongue is consequently very powerful, and the conditions for learning it are more favourable, in spite of our immature age, than for learning a second language at any later period of life. Other languages will be learned with a rapidity proportionate to the extent to which we secure the conditions of learning our mother-tongue. To obtain equally favourable conditions is impossible. We do not need a new language as an instrument of thought; we can think and speak in our own vernacular. We can no longer, unless we live entirely among persons who speak the language which we wish to learn, get that constant practice of ear and tongue, by which the little child makes such rapid progress. This is, of course, not difficult in the case of a modern language, but very few parents could imitate Montaigne's parents, who surrounded their child with tutors and servants who invariably spoke Latin, and who spoke it themselves with tolerable fluency. The power of speaking Latin was formerly cultivated by scholars as a kind of *lingua franca*, and was very necessary when students passed from university to university, and nearly all professorial instruction was given in Latin. Erasmus's *Colloquies* was written to develop this power, and may still be profitably employed by the teacher. A useful book of selections from it has been edited by Dr. Lowe. Cordery's *Colloquies*, another book of the same kind, was once widely used in our grammar-schools. Prendergast's *Mastery Method* seems to secure many of the advantages of the conversational method, but needs the support of analytic grammatical teaching. It supplies sentence-moulds, into which children rapidly learn to run words, but it does not secure, and no system can secure, in the case of a dead language, that constant induction and practice which are the secret of our rapid mastery of our mother-tongue.

with him, would talk nothing else to him,<sup>1</sup> and make him answer still in the same language. But because French is a living language, and to be used more in speaking, that should be first learned, that the yet pliant organs of speech might be accustomed to a due formation of those sounds, and he get the habit of pronouncing French well, which is the harder to be done the longer it is delayed.

[LATIN.]

163. When he can speak and read French well, which in this method is usually in a year or two, he

<sup>1</sup> 'Montaigne, who was taught Latin in the way recommended by Locke, relates, in his lively manner, the history of his initiation in that language. "Latin and Greek," he observes, "are a great and splendid ornament, which commonly, however, is too dearly bought. I shall here describe a method by which they may be more cheaply acquired, and the experiment having been made upon myself, whoever pleases may try it. The expedient was as follows: while I was still mute in the nurse's arms, my father placed me under the care of a German, a learned physician, deeply versed in Latin, and not ignorant of French, who afterwards acquired a great reputation. This man, who had been engaged at a very large salary, had me constantly in his arms. He had also two assistants, less learned indeed, but who spoke Latin, and never in my presence made use of any other language. With regard to the rest of the family, it was an inviolable rule, that neither my father himself, nor my mother, nor my valet, nor my chamber-maid (*chambrière*) should ever, in my hearing, speak anything but the few Latin expressions they had learned expressly for the purpose of chatting with me. And the progress they all made was remarkable: both my father and mother acquired a competent knowledge of the language, so that, when necessary, they could speak it with tolerable fluency, as did likewise all the domestics engaged more immediately about me. In fact, so far did we Latinise, that the practice by degrees extended to the surrounding villages, where several Roman appellations of tools and artisans took root, and still prevail. For myself, I was six years old before I understood one word more of French, or of the Périgord patois, than I did of Arabic; and thus, without method, without book, grammar, or rules, without whipping or tears, I learned as much Latin, as my instructors could teach me." (*Essais*, l. i. ch. 25.) Montaigne was singularly fortunate in his preceptors, among whom he names Nicolas Grouchi, author of the *De Comitibus Romanorum*; Guillaume Guerente, a commentator of Aristotle; Marco Antonio Mureti; and the celebrated Buchanan. Few princes could in any age command the services of such men.' *St. J.*

should proceed to Latin, which it is a wonder parents, when they have had the experiment in French, should not think ought to be learned the same way, by talking and reading. Only care is to be taken, whilst he is learning these foreign languages, by speaking and reading nothing else with his tutor, that he do not forget to read English, which may be preserved by his mother, or somebody else, hearing him read some chosen parts of the Scripture, or other English book every day.

164. Latin I look upon as absolutely necessary to gentleman;<sup>1</sup> and indeed custom, which prevails

<sup>1</sup> Absolutely essential to a gentleman] De Quincey says: 'There are two circumstances, one in the historical position of the Latin language, and one in its own internal character, which unite to give it an advantage in our esteem, such as no language besides (not even the Grecian) ever did, or, in the nature of things, ever *can* possess. They are these:—The Latin language has a *planetary* importance; it belongs not to this land or that land, but to all lands where the human intellect has obtained its rights and its development. It is the one sole *lingua franca*; that is, in a catholic sense, it is such for the whole humanised earth, and the total family of man. We call it a dead language. But how? It is not dead, as Greek is dead, as Hebrew is dead, as Sanscrit is dead—which no man uses in its ancient form in his intercourse with other men. It is still the common dialect which binds together that great *imperium in imperio*—the republic of letters.' And to express in a comprehensive way the relation which this superb language bears to man and his interests, I would say that it has the same extensive and indifferent relation to our planet, which the moon has amongst the heavenly bodies. Her light, and the means of intercourse which she propagates by her influence upon the tides, belong to all nations alike. How impressive a fact would it appear to us, if the great Asiatic family of nations from Teheran, or suppose from Constantinople and Cairo (which are virtually Asiatic), to Peking and the remotest islands on that quarter of Asia, had some one common language through which their philosophers and statesmen could communicate with each other over the whole vast floor of Asia! Yet this sublime masonic tie of brotherhood we ourselves possess, we members of Christendom, in the most absolute sense. Gradually, moreover, it is evident that we shall absorb the whole world into the progress of civilisation. Thus the Latin language is, and will be still more perfectly, a bond between the remotest places. Time also is connected by this memorable language as much as space; and periods in the history of man, too widely separated from each other (as might else have been imagined) to admit of any common tie, are, and will continue

over every thing, has made it so much a part of education, that even those children are whipped to it, and made spend many hours of their precious time uneasily in Latin, who, after they are once gone from school, are never to have more to do with it as long as they live. Can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a father should waste his own money, and his son's time in setting him to learn the Roman language, when at the same time he designs him for a trade, wherein he having no use for Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from school, and which it is ten to one he abhors for the ill usage it procured him? Could it be believed, unless we had everywhere amongst us examples of it, that a child should be forced to learn the rudiments of a language which he is never to use in the course of life that he is designed to, and neglect all the while the writing a good hand, and casting accounts, which are of great advantage in all conditions of life, and to most trades indispensably necessary? But though these qualifications, requisite to trade and commerce, and the business of the world, are seldom or never to be had at grammar-schools, yet thither, not only gentlemen send their younger sons, intended for trades, but even to be, brought into connection by a vinculum so artificial (and, generally speaking, so fluctuating) as a language. This position of the Latin language, with regard to the history of man, would alone suffice to give it an overpowering interest in our regard. But, secondly, as to its intrinsic merits, the peculiarity of its structure, and the singular powers which arise out of that structure, I must leave that topic undiscussed. This only let me say, that, for purposes of elaborate rhetoric, it is altogether unrivalled; the exquisitely artificial mould of its structure giving it that advantage. And, with respect to its supposed penury of words, I beg to mention the opinion of Cicero, who, in three separate passages in his works, maintains that in copiousness it has the advantage of the Greek.' Whether Locke would attach as much value to Latin if he were living now is doubtful. Since he wrote, two or three valuable literatures have sprung into existence, rendering a knowledge of modern languages more than ever needful, and other studies, by being placed on a scientific basis, have entered into competition with languages generally as instruments of education.

tradesmen and farmers fail not to send their children, though they have neither intention nor ability to make them scholars. If you ask them why they do this, they think it as strange a question, as if you should ask them, why they go to church. Custom serves for reason, and has, to those who take it for reason, so consecrated this method, that it is almost religiously observed by them, and they stick to it, as if their children had scarce an orthodox education, unless they learned Lilly's grammar.<sup>1</sup>

165. But how necessary soever Latin be to some, and is thought to be to others, to whom it is of no manner of use or service; yet the ordinary way of learning it in a grammar-school is that, which having had thoughts about, I cannot be forward to encourage. The reasons against it are so evident, and cogent, that they have prevailed with some intelligent persons, to quit the ordinary road, not without success, though the method made use of was not exactly what I imagine the easiest, and in short is this;—to trouble the child with no grammar at all, but to have Latin, as English has been, without the

<sup>1</sup> Lilly's grammar] William Lilly, Lilye or Lilley (for his name is variously spelt), was born about 1468, at Odiham in Hampshire. After taking his degree at Oxford he travelled to the East and spent five years at Rhodes, for the purpose of mastering Greek. On his return to England in 1509 he opened a private school in London, and became the first teacher of Greek in this country. In 1512, Dean Colet, attracted by his success, appointed him head-master of the newly founded St. Paul's School. This position he occupied till his death in 1523. His principal work is that referred to in the text: *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices Cognoscendi*, commonly known as Lilly's *Grammar*. 'The English rudiments were written by Colet, and the preface to the first edition by Cardinal Wolsey. The English syntax was written by Lilly; also the rules for the genders of nouns, beginning with, "Propria quæ maribus;" and those for the præter-perfect tenses and supines, beginning with, "As in præsentî." The Latin syntax was chiefly the work of Erasmus.' (*Penny Cyclopædia*.) However imperfect Lilly's *Grammar* may seem to us now, it is only fair to its illustrious author to recognise the fact that it was an enormous advance on the grammars which preceded it.

perplexity of rules talked into him; for if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than English: and yet he learns English without master, rule, or grammar: and so might he Latin too, as Tully did, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language. And when we so often see a French woman teach an English girl to speak and read French perfectly in a year or two, without any rule of grammar, or any thing else but prattling to her, I cannot but wonder, how gentlemen have overseen this way for their sons, and thought them more dull or incapable than their daughters.

166. If therefore a man could be got, who, himself speaking good Latin, would always be about your son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak or read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propose, not only as the easiest and best, wherein a child might, without pains or chiding, get a language, which others are wont to be whipt for at school six or seven years together: but also as that wherein at the same time he might have his mind and manners formed, and he be instructed to boot in several sciences, such as a good part of geography, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, besides some parts of history, and all other parts of knowledge of things, that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our knowledge should begin, and in those things be laid the foundation; and not in the abstract notions of logic and metaphysics, which are fitter to amuse, than inform the understanding, in its first setting out towards knowledge. When young men have had their heads employed a while in those abstract speculations without finding the success and improvement, or that use of them, which they expected, they are apt to have



mean thoughts, either of learning, or themselves; they ~~are~~ tempted to quit their studies, and throw away their books, as containing nothing but hard words, and empty sounds; or else to conclude, that if there be any real knowledge in them, they themselves have not understandings capable of it. That this is so, perhaps I could assure you upon my own experience. Amongst other things to be learned by a young gentleman in this method, whilst others of his age are wholly taken up with Latin and languages, I may also set down geometry for one; having known a young gentleman, bred something after this way, able to demonstrate several propositions in Euclid, before he was thirteen.

167. But if such a man cannot be got, who speaks good Latin, and being able to instruct your son in all these parts of knowledge, will undertake it by this method; the next best is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and pleasant book, such as Æsop's fables, and writing the English translation (made as literal as it can be) in one line, and the Latin words which answer each of them, just over it in another.<sup>1</sup> These let him read

<sup>1</sup> Just over it in another] This method, sometimes called the interlineary method, is commonly associated with the name of Locke; but it is of great antiquity. Lipsius speaks of an interlinear translation of the Psalter preserved at Liège, dating from soon after the time of Charlemagne. An interesting specimen of a native application of the method will be found in Archbishop Ælfric's *Colloquium*, for teaching Latin to English children. (See Thorpe's *Analecta Saxonica*.) It opens as follows:—

We cildru biddath the, eala Lareow, thaet thu tæce us sprecan  
D. nos pueri rogamus te, Magister, ut doceas nos loqui

\* [rihte], fortham ungelærede we syndon, and gewæmmodlice  
Latialiter recte, quia idiotæ sumus et corrupte  
we sprecath.  
loquimur.

Ælfric died A.D. 1005. Other works on the same plan were Montanus's edition of the Bible with Pignini's interlineary Latin version; Lubin's New Testament, having the Greek interlined with Latin and

every day over and over again, till he perfectly understands the Latin ; and then go on to another fable,

German ; Dumarsais' *Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre la langue latine*, published in 1722 ; Abbé l'Olivet's *Pensées de Cicéron* ; and a French work by the Abbé Redonvilliers, Paris, 1768. I have before me an interlinear translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, published in Paris, Ann. VI. of the Revolution. The method was brought prominently before the English public some fifty years ago by a Mr. Hamilton, and was highly commended in the *Edinburgh Review* [1826] by no less a person than the Rev. Sydney Smith. The reviewer is more successful in pointing out the weak places in the old method of teaching the dead languages, than in establishing the superiority of the new. He certainly shows how the so-called 'Hamiltonian method' may save the learner a good deal of trouble ; but he does not show that it will make a scholar of him. If a person is merely desirous of learning to read a language, he may quickly do so by Locke's method. If he wishes to speak and write the language, it will afford him very little help. Its chief recommendation is that it encourages the learner at the stage when encouragement is most needed. 'A boy,' employing it, 'finds he is making a progress and learning something from the very beginning. He is not overwhelmed with the first appearance of insuperable difficulties ; he receives some little pay from the first moment of his apprenticeship, and is not compelled to wait for remuneration till he is out of his time.' (S. Smith.) The Hamiltonian method soon fell into disrepute, and its numerous 'Keys' are now rarely to be seen except on old-book stalls. It has recently found an advocate in Archdeacon Denison, who learned French by it (see *Autobiography*). The method might be profitably employed for a short time in introducing a pupil to construing ; but it should be soon thrown aside. Treating of Dumarsais' short method of learning Latin, M. Compayré says : 'The method, even were it excellent in itself, it would yet be necessary to reject, like all the expedients devised for getting rid in the teaching of Latin of its necessary slowness, and, if I may so say, its precious difficulties. In one sense, the more ingenious and subtle these methods of abbreviation and simplification are, the worse and more injurious they are ; for, in this case, relieving the intelligence of all efforts to penetrate into the genius of a language, and reducing the labour of a child to the purely verbal study, they eliminate precisely what gives a value to classical studies—I mean slow and laborious exercises in which the intellectual faculties of the child and youth are formed. It is a mistake, which ought not to require exposure again, to see in the study of Latin only the apparent end, viz. : to know Latin. It is forgotten that with every people who are in possession of secondary instruction, that is to say, a system of studies intended to develop judgment, sagacity, and taste, the study of Latin has been invested with the privileges which are accorded to it, because it is an excellent instrument of intellectual culture. It is doubtless important to acquire an acquaintance with a language which is the key of a great literature, and which, after

till he be also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that, to keep it in his memory. And when he comes to write, let these be set him for copies, which, with the exercise of his hand, will also advance him in Latin. This being a more imperfect way than by talking Latin unto him; the formation of the verbs first, and afterwards the declensions of the nouns and pronouns perfectly learned by heart, may facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the Latin tongue, which varies the signification of verbs and nouns, not as the modern languages do by particles prefixed, but by changing the last syllables. More than this of grammar, I think he need not have till he can read himself *Sanctii Minerva*,<sup>1</sup> with Scioppius and Perizonius's notes.

In teaching of children this too, I think, is to be observed, that in most cases, where they stick, they

it ceased to be the language of a people, became the universal language of science; but what is still more important is to profit by the useful resources which are furnished by "the study, not utilitarian and practical, but artificial, grammatical, or technical, of a language other than our mother tongue." What should we say of a maladroit friend who, seeing us disposed to take a "constitutional" in order to exercise our muscles and strengthen our limbs, proposed to us to take us in his carriage to the end of our walk?' (*Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Education en France*, by G. Compayré.)

<sup>1</sup> *Sanctii Minerva*] Of this book Hallam says: 'The *Minerva* of another native of Spain, Sanchez, commonly called Sanctius, the first edition of which appeared at Salamanca in 1587, far excelled any grammatical treatise that had preceded it, especially as to the rules of syntax, which he has reduced to their natural principles, by explaining apparent anomalies. He is called the prince of grammarians, a divine man, the Mercury and Apollo of Spain, the father of the Latin language, the common teacher of the learned, in the panegyric style of the Lipsii or Scioppii. The *Minerva*, enlarged and corrected at different times by the most eminent scholars, Scioppius, Perizonius, and others more recent, still retains a leading place in philology.' (*Lit. Hist.* ii. 28-29.) Scioppius, a native of the Palatinate, was born in 1576, and died in 1649. He was a man of immense learning and acuteness. Perizonius was a professor at Franeker. He published a valuable edition of the *Minerva* of Sanctius in 1687, in which the notes of Scioppius were incorporated.

are not to be farther puzzled,<sup>1</sup> by putting them upon finding it out themselves ; as by asking such questions as these, (viz.) which is the nominative case ? in the sentence they are to construe ; or demanding, what *aufero* signifies, to lead them to the knowledge of what *abstulere* signifies, &c. when they cannot readily tell. This wastes time only in disturbing them ; for whilst they are learning, and apply themselves with attention, they are to be kept in good humour, and every thing made easy to them, and as pleasant as possible. Therefore wherever they are at a stand, and are willing to go forwards, help them presently<sup>2</sup> over the difficulty, without any rebuke or chiding ; remembering that where harsher ways are taken, they are the effect only of pride and peevishness in the teacher, who expects children should instantly be master of as much as he knows ; whereas he should rather consider, that his business is to settle in them habits, not angrily to inculcate rules, which serve for little in the conduct of our lives : at least are of no use to children, who forget them as soon as given. In sciences where their reason is to be exercised, I will not deny, but this method may sometimes be varied, and difficulties proposed on purpose to excite industry, and accustom the mind to employ its own strength and sagacity in reasoning. But yet

<sup>1</sup> **Not to be farther puzzled]** No practical teacher, I believe, will concur with Locke in this. A few judicious questions will often enable a puzzled child to solve his own difficulty ; and surely such a result must have a far higher educational value than a solution supplied by the teacher. At the same time it is not wise to take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself for questioning. There ought to be smooth and quiet places in teaching, where the pupil may be left to the tranquil and undisturbed enjoyment of his author. It is impossible for a child to enjoy a fine passage in some great classic when every minute he is pulled up to answer some peddling grammatical question. I have heard Reading Lessons in our elementary schools so full of questions that the poor children never had a chance of quietly taking in and enjoying the meaning of the passage read,

<sup>2</sup> **Presently]** i.e. immediately.

I guess this is not to be done to children, whilst very young, nor at their entrance upon any sort of knowledge : then every thing of itself is difficult, and the great use and skill of a teacher is to make all as easy as he can : but particularly in learning of languages there is least occasion for posing<sup>1</sup> of children. For languages being to be learned by rote, custom, and memory, are then spoken in greatest perfection, when all rules of grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the grammar of a language is sometimes very carefully to be studied, but is only to be studied by a grown man, when he applies himself to the understanding of any language critically, which is seldom the business of any but ~~professed~~ scholars. This I think will be agreed to, that if a gentleman be to study any language, it ought to be that of his own country,<sup>2</sup> that he may understand the language, which he has constant use of, with the utmost accuracy.

There is yet a further reason, why masters and teachers should raise no difficulties to their scholars ; but on the contrary, should smooth their way, and readily help them forwards, where they find them stop. Children's minds are narrow and weak, and usually susceptible but of one thought at once. Whatever is in a child's head, fills it for the time, especially if set on with any passion. It should therefore be the skill and art of the teacher, to clear their heads of all other thoughts, whilst they are learning of any thing, the better to make room for what he would instil into them, that it may be received with

<sup>1</sup> **Posing**] i.e. questioning ; not necessarily asking 'posing' questions. To *pose* or *oppose* meant simply to examine closely. Comp. 'And often coming from school, when I met her, she would *oppose* me touching my learning and lesson.' (Stow.) The examination exercises at St. Paul's School are still called *appositions*.

<sup>2</sup> **That of his own country**] Yet, until quite recently, this was one of the subjects most neglected in our schools. Even now far less attention is paid to our native classics than is paid in French schools to French authors.

attention and application, without which it leaves no impression. The natural temper of children disposes their minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that presents, they are presently eager to have a taste of, and are as soon satisfied with it. They quickly grow weary of the same thing, and so have almost their whole delight in change and variety. It is a contradiction to the natural state of childhood for them to fix their fleeting thoughts. Whether this be owing to the temper of their brains, or the quickness or instability of their animal spirits, over which the mind has not yet got a full command; this is visible, that it is a pain to children<sup>1</sup> to keep their thoughts steady to any thing. A lasting continued attention is one of the hardest tasks can be imposed on them; and therefore, he that requires their application, should endeavour to make what he proposes as grateful and agreeable as possible; at least, he ought to take care not to join any displeasing or frightful idea with it. If they come not to their books with some kind of liking and relish, it is no wonder their thoughts should be perpetually shifting from what disgusts them; and seek better entertainment in more pleasing objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

It is, I know, the usual method of tutors, to endeavour to procure attention in their scholars, and to fix their minds to the business in hand, by rebukes and corrections, if they find them ever so little wan-

<sup>1</sup> **It is a pain to children]** This is a clear sign that our endeavours to get them to concentrate their minds are premature. The volatility of a child is, during the phase of development which is characterised by it, quite as valuable as the concentration of a later period. The little child has to get a knowledge of the external world, a store of sensible images, before he can engage in long trains of abstract reasoning, and in performing this task his unceasing restlessness is a help rather than a hindrance to him. Everything in the world is at first a novelty to him, and his insatiable curiosity to make the acquaintance of these novelties is the divinely implanted instinct by which his ignorance is to be ultimately dispelled.

dering. But such treatment is sure to produce the quite contrary effect. Passionate words or blows from the tutor fill the child's mind with terror and affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up, and leaves no room for other impressions. I believe there is nobody, that reads this, but may recollect what disorder, hasty or imperious words from his parents or teachers have caused in his thoughts; how for the time it has turned his brains, so that he scarce knew what was said by or to him. He presently lost the sight of what he was upon, his mind was filled with disorder and confusion, and in that state was no longer capable of attention to any thing else.

It is true, parents and governors ought to settle and establish their authority, by an awe over the minds of those under their tuition; and to rule them by that: but when they have got an ascendant over them, they should use it with great moderation, and not make themselves such scare-crows that their scholars should always tremble in their sight. Such an austerity may make their government easy to themselves, but of very little use to their pupils. It is impossible children should learn any thing whilst their thoughts are possessed and disturbed with any passion, especially fear, which makes the strongest impression on their yet tender and weak spirits. Keep the mind in an easy calm temper, when you would have it receive your instructions, or any increase of knowledge. It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind, as on a shaking paper.

The great skill of a teacher is to get and keep the attention of his scholar; whilst he has that, he is sure to advance as fast as the learner's abilities will carry him; and without that, all his bustle and pother will be to little or no purpose. To attain this, he should make the child comprehend (as much as may be) the usefulness of what he teaches him, and let him see, by

what he has learnt, that he can do something which he could not do before ; something, which gives him some power and real advantage above others who are ignorant of it. To this he should add sweetness in all his instructions, and by a certain tenderness in his whole carriage, make the child sensible that he loves him, and designs nothing but his good, the only way to beget love in the child, which will make him hearken to his lessons, and relish what he teaches him.

Nothing but obstinacy should meet with any imperiousness, or rough usage. All other faults should be corrected with a gentle hand, and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing mind, and even prevent a good deal of that perverseness which rough and imperious usage often produces in well-disposed and generous minds. It is true, obstinacy and wilful neglects must be mastered, even though it cost blows to do it : but I am apt to think perverseness in the pupils is often the effect of frowardness<sup>1</sup> in the tutor ; and that most children would seldom have deserved blows, if needless and misapplied roughness had not taught them ill-nature, and given them an aversion for their teacher, and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, forgetfulness, unsteadiness, and wandering of thought, are the natural faults of childhood ; and therefore, when they are not observed to be wilful, are to be mentioned softly, and gained upon by time. If every slip of this kind produces anger and rating, the occasions of rebuke and corrections would return so often, that the tutor will be a constant terror and uneasiness to his pupils ; which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his lessons, and to defeat all his methods of instructions.

<sup>1</sup> **Frowardness**] i.e. perversity. O.E. *fram-weard*, the opposite of *toward*,



Let the awe he has got upon their minds be so tempered with the constant marks of tenderness and goodwill, that affection may spur them to their duty, and make them find a pleasure in complying with his dictates. This will bring them with satisfaction to their tutor; make them hearken to him, as to one who is their friend, that cherishes them, and takes pains for their good: this will keep their thoughts easy and free whilst they are with him, the only temper wherein the mind is capable of receiving new informations, and of admitting into itself those impressions, which, if not taken and retained, all that they and their teacher do together is lost labour; there is much uneasiness and little learning.

168. When by this way of interlining Latin and English one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the Latin tongue, he may then be advanced a little farther to the reading of some other easy Latin book, such as Justin<sup>1</sup> or Eutropius: and to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself, if he please, with the English Translation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for this way of learning a language. For languages are only to be learned by rote,<sup>2</sup> and a man who does not speak English or

<sup>1</sup> Justin] lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The work referred to is an epitome of Universal History. Eutropius should be read before Justin, who is much more difficult both in style and subject-matter.

<sup>2</sup> By rote] So Ascham says: 'All languages, both learned and mother-tongue, be gotten, and gotten only by imitation. For as ye use to hear, so ye use to speak; if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself; and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn.' But it would be a mistake to suppose that the learning of a language is an affair of memory only. Reason ought to be employed in every stage of it.

The pupil may classify and define for himself under the teacher's direction, and the labour of memory will be lightened in proportion to

Latin perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his tongue of course, without thought of rule, or grammar, falls into the proper expression and idiom of that language, does not speak it well, nor is master of it. And I would fain have any one name to me that tongue, that any one can learn, or speak as he should do, by the rules of grammar. Languages were made not by rules or art, but by accident, and the common use of the people. And he that will speak them well, has no other rule but that ; nor any thing to trust to, but his memory, and the habit of speaking after the fashion learned from those, that are allowed to speak properly, which in other words is only to speak by rote.

It will possibly be asked here, is grammar then of no use? and have those who have taken so much pains in reducing several languages to rules and observations ; who have writ so much about declensions and conjugations, about concords and syntaxis, lost their labour, and been learned to no purpose ? I say not so ; grammar has its place too. But this I think I may say, there is more stir a great deal made with it than there needs, and those are tormented about it to whom it does not at all belong ; I mean children at the age wherein they are usually perplexed with it in grammar-schools.<sup>1</sup>

the extent of these independent efforts. When he comes to the study of words, he will find that they are in themselves the embodiment of a people's history, morality, religion, philosophy, social life, &c., and in the investigation of these questions he will find abundant exercise for the highest faculties of his mind. Locke dwells too exclusively on the use of language as a medium of communication. This is, of course, one of the chief uses of a modern language ; but it is practically non-existent in the case of the dead languages.

<sup>1</sup> **Grammar schools]** Mr. Mill says : ' If a boy learned Latin and Greek on the same principle on which a mere child learns with such ease and rapidity any modern language, namely, by acquiring some familiarity with the vocabulary by practice and repetition, before being troubled with grammatical rules—those rules being acquired with tenfold greater facility when the uses to which they apply are already

There is nothing more evident, than that languages learned by rote serve well enough for the common affairs of life and ordinary commerce.<sup>1</sup> Nay, persons of quality of the softer sex, and such of them as have spent their time in well-bred company, show us, that this plain natural way, without the least study or knowledge of grammar, can carry them to a great degree of elegance and politeness in their language : and there are ladies who, without knowing what tenses and participles, adverbs and prepositions are, speak as properly and as correctly (they might take it for an ill compliment if I said as any country schoolmaster) as most gentlemen who have been bred up in the ordinary methods of grammar-schools. Grammar therefore we see may be spared in some cases. The question then will be, to whom should it be taught, and when? To this I answer ;

I. Men learn languages for the ordinary intercourse of society and communication of thoughts in common life,<sup>2</sup> without any farther design in their use

familiar to the mind—an average schoolboy, long before the age at which schooling terminates, would be able to read fluently and with intelligent interest any ordinary Latin or Greek author in prose or verse, (would have a competent knowledge of the grammatical structure of both languages, and have had time besides for an ample amount of scientific instruction.)

<sup>1</sup> **Commerce]** i.e. communication, holding intercourse. Cf. 'And looks *commencing* with the skies.' (*Il Penseroso*, 39.) Livy speaks of a '*commercium sermonis*,' v. 15, with reference to two nations who understand each other's speech.

<sup>2</sup> **Common life]** This is a very narrow view of the object of the study of language. It is the courier's and the commercial traveller's view. Language is, as we have seen, a key to the history and inner life of a people, not merely by being a key to its literature, but in itself. It has a value of another kind. In its study we are compelled to examine more closely the ideas which our words cover. This is an advantage which Locke, who knew so well the powerful reflex influence of language on thought, should have been the foremost to recognise. Mr. J. S. Mill says : 'As we seldom think of asking the meaning of what we see every day, so when our ears are used to the sound of a word or a phrase, we do not suspect that it conveys no clear idea to our minds, and that we should have the utmost difficulty in defining it, or express-

of them. And for this purpose, the original way of learning a language by conversation, not only serves

ing, in any other words, what we think we understand by it. Now it is obvious in what manner this bad habit tends to be corrected by the practice of translating with accuracy from one language to another, and hunting out the meanings expressed in a vocabulary with which we have not grown familiar by early and constant use. I hardly know any greater proof of the extraordinary genius of the Greeks, than that they were able to make such brilliant achievements in abstract thought, knowing, as they generally did, no language but their own. But the Greeks did not escape the effects of this deficiency. Their greatest intellects, those who laid the foundation of philosophy and of all our intellectual culture, Plato and Aristotle, are continually led away by words; mistaking the accidents of language for real relations in nature, and supposing that things which have the same name in the Greek tongue must be the same in their own essence. . . . Without knowing the language of a people, we never really know their thoughts, their feelings, and their type of character: and unless we do possess this knowledge, of some other people than ourselves, we remain, to the hour of our death, with our intellects only half expanded. . . . But if it is so useful, on this account, to know the language and literature of any other cultivated and civilised people, the most valuable of all to us in this respect are the languages and literature of the ancients. No nations of modern and civilised Europe are so unlike one another, as the Greeks and Romans are unlike all of us; yet without being, as some remote Orientals are, so totally dissimilar, that the labour of a life is required to enable us to understand them. Were this the only gain to be derived from a knowledge of the ancients, it would clearly place the study of them in a high rank among enlightened and liberalising pursuits. It is of no use saying that we may know them through modern writings. We may know something of them in that way; which is much better than knowing nothing. But modern books do not teach us ancient thought; they teach us some modern writer's notion of ancient thought. Modern books do not show us the Greeks and Romans; they tell us some modern writer's opinions about the Greeks and Romans. Translations are scarcely better. . . . In studying the great writers of antiquity, we are not only learning to understand the ancient mind, but laying in a stock of wise thought and observation, still valuable to ourselves; and at the same time making ourselves familiar with a number of the most perfect and finished literary compositions which the human mind has produced. . . . Even as mere languages, no modern European language is so valuable a discipline to the intellect as those of Greece and Rome, on account of their regular and complicated structure.' (*Inaugural Address at St. Andrews.*)

Locke's view of the value of the study of grammar is as narrow as his view of the value of the study of language. On this point Mr. Mill says: 'Consider for a moment what grammar is. It is the most elementary part of logic. It is the beginning of the analysis of the

well enough, but is to be preferred as the most expedite, proper and natural. Therefore, to this use of language one may answer, that grammar is not necessary. This so many of my readers must be forced to allow, as understand what I here say, and who conversing with others, understand them without having ever been taught the grammar of the English tongue. Which I suppose is the case of incomparably the greatest part of Englishmen, of whom I have never yet known any one who learned his mother-tongue by rules.

2. Others there are, the greatest part of whose business in this world, is to be done with their tongues, and with their pens; and to these it is convenient, if not necessary, that they should speak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their thoughts into other men's minds the more easily, and with the greater impression. Upon this account it is, that any sort of speaking, so as will make him be understood, is not thought enough for a gentleman. He ought to study grammar amongst the other helps of speaking well, but it must be the grammar of his own tongue, of the language he uses, that he may understand his own country speech nicely, and speak it properly, without shocking the ears of those it is addressed to, with solecisms and offensive irregularities. And to this purpose grammar is necessary; but it is the grammar only of their own proper tongues,

thinking process. The principles and rules of grammar are the means by which the forms of language are made to correspond with the universal forms of thought. The distinction between the various parts of speech, between the cases of nouns, the moods and tenses of verbs, the functions of participles, are distinctions in thought, not merely in words. Single nouns and verbs express objects and events, many of which can be cognised by the senses; but the modes of putting nouns and verbs together express the relations of objects and events which can only be cognised by the intellect; and each different mode corresponds to a different relation. The structure of every sentence is a lesson in logic.' (*Id.*)

and to those only who would take pains in cultivating their language, and in perfecting their styles. Whether all gentlemen should not do this, I leave to be considered, since the want of propriety and grammatical exactness, is thought very misbecoming one of that rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such faults, the censure of having had a lower breeding and worse company than suits with his quality. If this be so, (as I suppose it is,) it will be matter of wonder why young gentlemen are forced to learn the grammars of foreign and dead languages, and are never once told of the grammar of their own tongues: they do not so much as know there is any such thing, much less is it made their business to be instructed in it. Nor is their own language ever proposed to them as worthy their care and cultivating, though they have daily use of it, and are not seldom, in the future course of their lives, judged of by their handsome or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the languages, whose grammars they have been so much employed in, are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write; or if, upon occasion, this should happen, they shall be excused for the mistakes and faults they make in it. Would not a Chinese, who took notice of this way of breeding, be apt to imagine that all our young gentlemen were designed to be teachers and professors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of business in their own?

3. There is a third sort of men, who apply themselves to two or three foreign, dead, and (which amongst us are called the) learned languages, make them their study, and pique themselves upon their skill in them. No doubt, those who propose to themselves the learning of any language with this view, and would be critically exact in it, ought carefully to study the grammar of it. I would not be mistaken here, as if this were to undervalue Greek and Latin.

I grant these are languages of great use and excellency, and a man can have no place amongst the learned in this part of the world, who is a stranger to them. But the knowledge a gentleman would ordinarily draw for his use out of the Roman and Greek writers, I think he may attain without studying the grammars of those tongues, and by bare reading, may come to understand them sufficiently for all his purposes. How much farther he shall at any time be concerned to look into the grammar and critical niceties of either of these tongues, he himself will be able to determine when he comes to propose to himself the study of any thing that shall require it. Which brings me to the other part of the inquiry, viz.

*When Grammar should be taught?*

To which, upon the premised grounds, the answer is obvious, viz.

That if grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the language already; <sup>1</sup> how else can he be taught the grammar of it? This at least is evident from the practice of the wise and learned nations amongst the ancients. They made it a part of education to cultivate their own, not foreign tongues. The Greeks counted all other nations barbarous, and had a contempt for their languages. And though the Greek learning grew in credit amongst the Romans, towards the end of their commonwealth, yet it was the Roman tongue that was made the study of their youth; their own language

<sup>1</sup> **Already]** 'This was the method pursued by Gibbon in learning Greek. He first acquired, through reading, a knowledge of the meaning of words, and had then recourse to the grammar to discover the philosophical construction of the language; which he compares to examining the map of a country over which he had already travelled. For my own part, I have always, in travelling both over languages and countries, found a map exceedingly useful by the way.' *St. J.*

they were to make use of, and therefore it was their own language they were instructed and exercised in.

But, more particularly to determine the proper season for grammar, I do not see how it can reasonably be made any one's study, but as an introduction to rhetoric; when it is thought time to put any one upon the care of polishing his tongue, and of speaking better than the illiterate, then is the time for him to be instructed in the rules of grammar, and not before. For grammar being to teach men not to speak, but to speak correctly, and according to the exact rules of the tongue, which is one part of elegance, there is little use of the one to him that has no need of the other: where rhetoric is not necessary, grammar may be spared. I know not why any one should waste his time, and beat his head about the Latin grammar, who does not intend to be a critic, or make speeches and write dispatches in it. When any one finds in himself a necessity or disposition to study any foreign language to the bottom, and to be nicely exact in the knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a grammatical survey of it. If his use of it be only to understand some books writ in it, without a critical knowledge of the tongue itself, reading alone, as I have said, will attain this end, without charging the mind with the multiplied rules and intricacies of grammar.

169. For the exercise of his writing, let him sometimes translate Latin into English: but the learning of Latin being nothing but the learning of words, a very unpleasant business both to young and old, join as much other real<sup>1</sup> knowledge with

<sup>1</sup> **Real knowledge**] i.e. knowledge of things. See note 1, p. 182. Until the learner is able to read a foreign language with ease, it is a great mistake to endeavour to teach difficult subjects through it. Locke would probably confine the pupil at first to descriptive books easily comprehended.



it as you can, beginning still with that which lies most obvious to the senses; such as is the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, and particularly timber and fruit-trees, their parts, and ways of propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a child which will not be useless to the man. But more especially geography, astronomy, and anatomy. But whatever you are teaching him, have a care still that you do not clog him with too much at once; or make any thing his business but downright virtue, or reprove him for any thing but vice, or some apparent tendency to it.

170. But if, after all, his fate be to go to school to get the Latin tongue, it will be vain to talk with you concerning the method I think best to be observed in schools; you must submit to that you find there, not expect to have it changed for your son; but yet by all means obtain, if you can, that he be not employed in making Latin themes and declamations, and least of all verses of any kind. You may insist on it, if it will do any good, that you have no design to make him either a Latin orator or poet, but barely would have him understand perfectly a Latin author; and that you observe, those who teach any of the modern languages, and that with success, never amuse their scholars to make speeches or verses either in French or Italian, their business being language barely, and not invention.<sup>1</sup>

[THEMES.]

171. But to tell you a little more fully why I would not have him exercised in making of themes and verses. As to themes, they have, I confess, the pretence of something useful, which is to teach people to speak handsomely and well on any subject; which, if it could be attained this way, I own, would be a great advantage, there being nothing more be-

<sup>1</sup> Invention] i.e. the finding of topics to discourse about.

coming a gentleman nor more useful in all the occurrences of life, than to be able, on any occasion, to speak well, and to the purpose. But this I say, that the making of themes, as is usual in schools, helps not one jot towards it: for do but consider what it is, in making a theme, that a young lad is employed about; it is to make a speech on some Latin saying; as *Omnia vincit amor*;<sup>1</sup> or *Non licet in bello bis peccare*,<sup>2</sup> &c. And here the poor lad, who wants knowledge of those things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from time and observation, must set his invention on the rack, to say something where he knows nothing; which is a sort of Egyptian tyranny, to bid them make bricks who have not yet any of the materials. And therefore it is usual, in such cases, for the poor children to go to those of higher forms with this petition, Pray give me a little sense; which, whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous, is not easy to determine. Before a man can be in any capacity to speak on any subject, it is necessary he be acquainted with it; or else it is as foolish to set him to discourse of it, as to set a blind man to talk of colours, or a deaf man of music. And would you not think him a little cracked, who would require another to make an argument on a moot point,<sup>3</sup> who understands nothing of our laws? And what, I pray, do school-boys understand concerning those matters which are used to be proposed to them

<sup>1</sup> *Omnia, &c.*] 'Love conquers all things.'

<sup>2</sup> *Non licet, &c.*] 'To blunder twice in war is not allowed.'

<sup>3</sup> *A moot point*] i.e. a doubtful legal point which admits of being argued on opposite sides, like the questions tried in a court of justice. O.E. *mot*, an assembly, *motan*, to cite before the moot or court of justice. Cf. *Witenagemote*, the assembly of wise men. The Town Hall in some of our provincial towns is still called the *moot* hall. Nares explains '*To moot*' as 'to discuss a point of law as was formerly practised on stated days, in the Inns of Court,' and quotes the following illustration of the word: 'He talks statutes as fiercely as if he had mooted seven years in the Inns of Court.' (Earle's *Microcosm*, § 36.)

in their themes, as subjects to discourse on, to whet and exercise their fancies?

172. In the next place, consider the language that their themes are made in : it is Latin, a language foreign in their country, and long since dead everywhere : a language which your son, it is a thousand to one, shall never have an occasion once to make a speech in as long as he lives after he comes to be a man ; and a language wherein the manner of expressing one's self is so far different from ours, that to be perfect in that would very little improve the purity and facility of his English style. Besides that, there is now so little room or use for set speeches in our own language in any part of our English business, that I can see no pretence for this sort of exercise in our schools, unless it can be supposed, that the making of set Latin speeches should be the way to teach men to speak well in English extempore. The way to that, I should think rather to be this : that there should be proposed to young gentlemen, rational and useful questions, suited to their age and capacities, and on subjects not wholly unknown to them, nor out of their way : such as these, when they are ripe for exercises of this nature, they should extempore, or after a little meditation upon the spot, speak to, without penning of any thing : for I ask, if we will examine the effects of this way of learning to speak well, who speak best in any business, when occasion calls them to it upon any debate, either those who have accustomed themselves to compose and write down beforehand, what they would say ; or those, who thinking only of the matter, to understand that as well as they can, use themselves only to speak extempore ? And he that shall judge by this, will be little apt to think, that the accustoming him to studied speeches, and set compositions, is the way to fit a young gentleman for business.

173. But perhaps we shall be told, it is to improve and perfect them in the Latin tongue. It is true, that is their proper business at school; but the making of themes is not the way to it: that perplexes their brains about invention of things to be said, not about the signification of words to be learned; and when they are making a theme, it is thoughts they search and sweat for, not language. But the learning and mastery of a tongue being uneasy and unpleasant enough in itself, should not be cumbered with any other difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, if boys' inventions be to be quickened by such exercise, let them make themes in English, where they have facility and a command of words, and will better see what kind of thoughts they have, when put into their own language. And if the Latin tongue be to be learned, let it be done the easiest way, without toiling and disgusting the mind by so uneasy an employment as that of making speeches joined to it.

## [VERSES.]

174. If these may be any reasons against children's making Latin themes at school, I have much more to say, and of more weight, against their making verses; verses of any sort: for if he has no genius

<sup>1</sup> **Verses]** 'The laborious idleness in which the school-time is wasted away in the English classical schools deserves the severest reprehension. To what purpose should the most precious years of early life be irreparably squandered in learning to write bad Latin and Greek verses? I do not see that we are much the better even for those who end by writing good ones. I am often tempted to ask the favourites of nature and fortune, whether all the serious and important work of the world is done, that their time and energy can be spared for these *nugæ difficiles*? I am not blind to the utility of composing in a language, as a means of learning it accurately. I hardly know any other means equally effectual. But why should not prose composition suffice? What need is there of original composition at all? if that can be called original which unfortunate schoolboys, without any thoughts to express, hammer out on compulsion from mere memory, acquiring the pernicious habit which a teacher should consider it one of his first duties to repress,

to poetry, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to torment a child, and waste his time about that which can never succeed; and if he have a poetic vein, it is to me the strangest thing in the world that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved.<sup>1</sup> Methinks the parents should labour to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business: which is not yet the worst of the case; for if he proves a successful rhymers, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is like to spend his time in, nay, and estate too: for it is very seldom seen, that any one discovers mines of gold or silver in Parnassus. It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on. Men of estates almost constantly go away losers; and it is well if they escape at a cheaper rate than their whole estates, or the greatest part of them. If therefore you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company, without whom

that of merely stringing together borrowed phrases? The exercise in composition, most suitable to the requirements of learners, is that most valuable one, of re-translating from translated passages of good authors; and to this might be added, what still exists in many Continental places of education, talking in Latin.' (J. S. Mill.)

<sup>1</sup> Improved.] The fact that Locke here speaks so slightly of poetry throws a vivid light on a deplorable gap in his culture, and must even diminish his reputation as a philosopher. For if he had personally no appreciation of poetic productions or of the pleasures they afford, the mere observation of human nature ought to have suggested a higher estimate of their subjective and objective significance.' S. See Introduction, p. 23.

the sparks could not relish their wine, nor know how to pass an afternoon idly ; if you would not have him to waste his time and estate to divert others, and condemn the dirty acres left him by his ancestors, I do not think you will much care he should be a poet, or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying. But yet if any one will think poetry a desirable quality in his son, and that the study of it would raise his fancy and parts, he must needs yet confess, that to that end reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets, is of more use than making bad verses of his own, in a language that is not his own. And he, whose design it is to excel in English poetry, would not, I guess, think the way to it were to make his first essays in Latin verses.

## [MEMORITER.]

175. Another thing very ordinary in the vulgar method of grammar-schools there is, of which I see no use at all, unless it be to baulk young lads in the way to learning languages, which, in my opinion, should be made as easy and pleasant as may be ; and that which was painful in it, as much as possible, quite removed. That which I mean, and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great parcels of the authors which are taught them ; wherein I can discover no advantage at all,<sup>1</sup> especially to the

<sup>1</sup> **No advantage at all**] Committing to memory fine, well-selected and rightly understood passages is certainly of great advantage, both as a means of learning a language, and of storing the mind with noble thoughts expressed in noble words. The mistake is to set children to learn poetry which they do not understand, in the hope that the meaning may, like the frozen music in Baron Munchausen's trumpets, some day thaw out. Every passage learnt by heart should be well worth remembering, should be carefully elucidated by the teacher before it is learnt, and should be kept fresh in the memory by periodical repetition. The following remark of Hallam on the pleasure afforded to Milton in his blindness by poetry learnt in the days of his youth, shows how differently the practice of learning by heart struck a mind of poetic

business they are upon. Languages are to be learned only by reading and talking, and not by scraps of authors got by heart; which, when a man's head is stuffed with, he has got the just furniture of a pedant, and it is the ready way to make him one; than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handsome thoughts and sayings of others with a deal of poor stuff of his own; which is thereby the more exposed, and has no other grace in it, nor will otherwise recommend the speaker, than a threadbare russet coat would, that was set off with large patches of scarlet, and glittering brocade. Indeed, where a passage comes in the way, whose matter is worth remembrance, and the expression of it very close and excellent, (as there are many such in the ancient authors,) it may not be amiss to lodge it in the minds of young scholars, and with such admirable strokes of those great masters sometimes exercise the memories of school-boys. But their learning of their lessons by heart, as they happen to fall out in their books, without choice or distinction, I know not what it serves for, but to mis-spend their time and pains,

sensibility: 'Then the pleasure of early reading came over his dark and lonely path, like the moon emerging from the clouds. Then it was that the Muse was truly his; not only as she poured her creative inspiration into his mind, but as the daughter of Memory, coming with fragments of ancient melodies, the voice of Euripides, and Homer, and Tasso, sounds that he had loved in youth, and treasured up for the solace of his age. They who, though not enduring the calamity of Milton, have known what it is, when afar from books, in solitude or in-travelling, or in the intervals of worldly care, to feed on poetic recollections, to murmur over the beautiful lines whose cadence has long delighted the ear, to recall the sentiments and images which retain by association the charm that early years once gave them—they will feel the inestimable value of committing to the memory, in the prime of its power, what it will easily receive and indelibly retain. I know not, indeed, whether an education that deals much with poetry, such as is still usual in England, has any more solid argument among many in its favour, than that it lays the foundation of intellectual pleasures at the other extreme of life.' (*Lit. Hist.* iv. 240.)

and give them a disgust and aversion to their books, wherein they find nothing but useless trouble.

176. I hear it is said, that children should be employed in getting things by heart, to exercise and improve their memories.<sup>1</sup> I could wish this were said with as much authority of reason, as it is with forwardness of assurance, and that this practice were established upon good observation, more than old custom ; for it is evident, that strength of memory is owing to a happy constitution,<sup>2</sup> and not to any habitual improvement got by exercise. It is true what the mind is intent upon, and for fear of letting it slip, often imprints afresh on itself by frequent reflection, that it is apt to retain, but still according to its own natural strength of retention. An impression made on bees'-wax or lead,<sup>3</sup> will not last so long as on brass or steel. Indeed, if it be renewed often, it may last the longer ; but every new reflecting on it is a new impression ; and it is from thence one

<sup>1</sup> To improve their memories] This belief rests on the erroneous assumption that memory is an independent faculty. As a matter of fact, memory is a mental phenomenon consequent upon a variety of mental operations, such as perception, conception, judgment, imagination, reason, and is mainly dependent on the mode in which these operations are carried on. The only way in which learning by heart improves the memory is by increasing our control over the attention, by familiarising our minds with the artifices by which the memory is assisted, and by adding to our stock of associations.

<sup>2</sup> A happy constitution] That memory, like all other mental phenomena, depends to some extent upon original natural gifts, there can be but little doubt, but it is equally certain that it may be much strengthened by a careful observance of its laws. A bad memory will generally be found in conjunction with imperfect sense perceptions, neglect of generalisation and classification, intellectual confusion both in ideas and their symbols, careless reasoning, a lack of interest, and, the consequence of a lack of interest, want of attention.

<sup>3</sup> Bees'-wax or lead] The student is again warned against these misleading metaphors. We have reason to believe that memory is rather a series of growths than of impressions. The brain-cells involved in remembering are nourished every time they are called into exercise, the effect of what is called attention being to determine the supply of blood to them.



is to reckon, if one would know how long the mind retains it. But the learning pages of Latin by heart, no more fits the memory for retention of any thing else,<sup>1</sup> than the graving of one sentence in lead makes it the more capable of retaining firmly any other characters. If such a sort of exercise of the memory were able to give it strength, and improve our parts, players of all other people must needs have the best memories, and be the best company. But whether the scraps they have got into their heads this way, make them remember other things the better; and whether their parts be improved proportionably to the pains they have taken in getting by heart others' sayings, experience will show. Memory is so necessary to all parts and conditions of life, and so little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it should grow dull and useless for want of exercise, if exercise would make it grow stronger. But I fear this faculty of the mind is not capable of much help and amendment in general by any exercise or endeavour of ours;<sup>2</sup> at least, not by that used upon this

<sup>1</sup> **Anything else]** This is not strictly true. The *habit* of concentration involved in learning by rote may be applied to other things; but Locke is justified in saying that persons may remember well one class of things and not another. The reason is obvious. We remember what we attend to, and our attention is mainly dependent on our interest. As our interest in different things varies, our power of remembering them varies also. If memory depended entirely on the 'natural strength' of the mind's retentiveness, we should expect it to be equally good in retaining whatever is committed to it. The fact that its retentiveness varies with our own interest in what is committed to it, shows clearly that it is largely dependent on our natural or acquired tastes. The poet, the artist, the naturalist, the theologian, and the illiterate peasant all look at the same scene; and each will carry away in his memory the class of facts, many or few, to which he directed his attention. These facts will be respectively remembered with a vividness and permanence proportionate to the intensity of the attention, the emotional excitement accompanying that attention, the antecedent stock of ideas to which the new ideas linked themselves, the frequency with which the new ideas are recurred to and used in new combinations, and so forth.

<sup>2</sup> **Endeavour of ours]** Since memory has no separate existence,

pretence in grammar schools. And if Xerxes was able to call every common soldier by his name<sup>1</sup> in his army, that consisted of no less than a hundred thousand men, I think it may be guessed, he got not this wonderful ability by learning his lessons by heart when he was a boy. This method of exercising and improving the memory by toilsome repetitions without book, of what they read, is, I think, little used in the education of princes, which if it had that advantage is talked of, should be as little neglected in them as in the meanest school-boys: princes having as much need of good memories as any men living, and have generally an equal share in this faculty with other men; though it has never been taken care of this way. What the mind is intent upon, and careful of, that it remembers best, and for the reason above mentioned: to which, if method and order be joined, all is done, I think, that can be, for the help of a weak memory; and he that will take any other way to do it, especially that of charging it with a train of other people's words, which he that learns cares not for; will, I guess, scarce find the profit answer half the time and pains employed in it.

I do not mean hereby, that there should be no exercise given to children's memories. I think their memories should be employed, but not in learning by rote whole pages out of books, which, the lesson being once said, and that task over, are delivered up again to oblivion, and neglected for ever. This mends neither the memory nor the mind. What they should learn by heart out of authors, I have above mentioned: and such wise and useful sentences being

but is dependent on the general cultivation of the mind, it is to that general cultivation we must mainly look for its improvement.

<sup>1</sup> By his name] 'The fact itself is here to be doubted; for his army having been suddenly collected from all parts of the Persian empire, he could not know the names of all, even were it otherwise possible.' *St. J.*

## LATIN.

once given in charge to their memories, they should never be suffered to forget again, but be often called to account for them ;<sup>1</sup> whereby, besides the use those sayings may be to them in their future life, as so many good rules and observations, they will be taught to reflect often, and bethink themselves what they have to remember, which is the only way to make the memory quick and useful. The custom of frequent reflection will keep their minds from running adrift, and call their thoughts home from useless unattentive roving : and therefore, I think, it may do well to give them something every day to remember, but something still, that is in itself worth the remembering, and what you would never have out of mind, whenever you call, or they themselves search for it. This will oblige them often to turn their thoughts inwards, than which you cannot wish them a better intellectual habit.

177. But under whose care soever a child is put to be taught, during the tender and flexible years of his life, this is certain, it should be one, who thinks Latin and languages the least part of education ; one who knowing how much virtue, and a well-tempered soul is to be preferred to any sort of learning or language, makes it his chief business to form the mind of his scholars, and give that a right disposition ; which, if once got, though all the rest should be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the rest : and which, if it be not got, and settled, so as to keep out ill and vicious habits, languages and sciences, and

<sup>1</sup> Called to account for them] Periodical reviews are absolutely essential to the permanent preservation of what has been stored in the memory. Each effort of attention involved in such reviews and in preparing for them strengthens the mental growths concerned. In some subjects constructive exercises secure constant revision of our mental acquisitions ; in others it is well to have, at regular intervals of time, special examinations for the reproduction of old knowledge. It is well also to make examinations cumulative, so that as new knowledge is acquired, the old may not be let go.

all the other accomplishments of education, will be to no purpose, but to make the worse, or more dangerous man. And indeed whatever stir there is made about getting of Latin, as the great and difficult business, his mother may teach it him herself, if she will but spend two or three hours in a day with him, and make him read the Evangelists in Latin to her: for she need but buy a Latin Testament, and having got somebody to mark the last syllable but one where it is long, in words above two syllables, (which is enough to regulate her pronunciation, and accenting the words,) read daily in the gospels, and then let her avoid understanding them in Latin if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in Latin, let her, in the same manner, read Æsop's fables, and so proceed on to Eutropius, Justin, and other such books. I do not mention this as an imagination of what I fancy may do, but as of a thing I have known done, and the Latin tongue<sup>1</sup> with ease got this way.

But to return to what I was saying: he that takes upon him the charge of bringing up young men, especially young gentlemen, should have some-

<sup>1</sup> The Latin tongue] Locke cannot mean here more than ability to read Latin. Even that ability, I need hardly say, would be very limited and untrustworthy. All the mental discipline afforded by a grammatical study of Latin would, as has been pointed out, be lost by this short and easy method of learning to read Latin. I nevertheless think that Locke's method might be used for a short time with beginners to give them a taste for the subject. 'Locke's method of learning languages, and especially Latin, has the immense advantage that the young mind is thereby kept fresh and cheerful, that the materials are more easily digested and assimilated, and by penetrating to the inner springs of action impart to the learner's energies a more rapid and direct stimulus. According to the ordinary methods the student is wearily plied with sentences and grammatical exercises on what are represented as essential rules and their endless exceptions, and all before he is allowed to see a scrap of the literature. And when at last they come upon more palatable food, it is forthwith overseasoned with eternal analyses and questioning. Such a system may possibly produce solid or stolid grammarians, but is useless in promoting true culture.' S.

thing more in him than Latin, more than even a knowledge of the liberal sciences: he should be a person of eminent virtue and prudence, and with good sense, have good humour, and the skill to carry himself with gravity, ease, and kindness in a constant conversation<sup>1</sup> with his pupils. But of this I have spoken at large in another place.

178. At the same time that he is learning French and Latin, a child, as has been said, may also be entered in arithmetic, geography, chronology, history and geometry too. For if these be taught him in French or Latin,<sup>2</sup> when he begins once to understand either of these tongues, he will get a knowledge in these sciences, and the language to boot.

#### [GEOGRAPHY.]

Geography, I think, should be begun with: for the learning of the figure of the globe, the situation and boundaries of the four parts of the world, and that of particular kingdoms and countries, being only an exercise of the eyes and memory, a child with pleasure will learn and retain them. And this is so certain, that I now live in the house with a child, whom his mother has so well instructed this way in geography, that he knew the limits of the four parts of the world, could readily point, being asked, to any country upon the globe, or any country in the map of England; knew all the great rivers, promontories, straits, and bays in the world, and could find the longitude and latitude of any place, before he

<sup>1</sup> Conversation] i.e. intercourse.

<sup>2</sup> In French or Latin] This is contrary to all sound teaching. The efforts of the teacher should be directed to the isolation of difficulties. If he add to the difficulties of the subject those that belong to an imperfectly mastered medium of communication, both the subject and the language must suffer from the divided attention given to them. Foreign languages ought not to be used as a medium of teaching until they are nearly as well known as the child's native tongue.

was six years old. These things, that he will thus learn by sight, and have by rote in his memory, are not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the globes. But yet it is a good step and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much easier, when his judgment has grown ripe enough for it ; besides that, it gets so much time now ; and by the pleasure of knowing things, leads him on insensibly to the gaining of languages.

[ARITHMETIC.—ASTRONOMY.]

179. When he has the natural parts of the globe well fixed in his memory, it may then be time to begin arithmetic.<sup>1</sup> By the natural parts of the globe, I mean several positions of the parts of the earth and sea, under different names and distinctions of countries, not coming yet to those artificial and imaginary lines, which have been invented, and are only supposed for the better improvement of that science.

180. Arithmetic is the easiest, and consequently the first sort of abstract reasoning, which the mind commonly bears, or accustoms itself to : and is of so general use in all parts of life and business, that scarce any thing is to be done without it. This is certain, a man cannot have too much of it, nor too perfectly : he should therefore begin to be exercised in counting, as soon, and as far, as he is capable of it ; and do something in it every day, till he is master of the art of numbers. When he understands addition and subtraction, he may then be advanced farther in geography ; after he is acquainted with the poles, zones, parallel circles, and meridians, be taught longi-

<sup>1</sup> Arithmetic] It is difficult to see why Locke places arithmetic after geography. Arithmetic should be introduced at a very early stage of education, if only for the valuable and pleasurable intellectual discipline which it affords. It is the logic of childhood.

tude and latitude, and by them be made to understand the use of maps, and by the numbers placed on their sides, to know the respective situation of countries, and how to find them out on the terrestrial globe. Which when he can readily do, he may then be entered in the celestial; and there going over all the circles again, with a more particular observation of the ecliptic, or zodiac, to fix them all very clearly and distinctly in his mind, he may be taught the figure and position of the several constellations, which may be showed him first upon the globe, and then in the heavens.

When that is done, and he knows pretty well the constellations of this our hemisphere, it may be time to give him some notions of this our planetary world; and to that purpose, it may not be amiss to make him a draught of the Copernican system, and therein explain to him the situation of the planets, their respective distances from the sun, the centre of their revolutions. This will prepare him to understand the motion and theory of the planets, the most easy and natural way. For since astronomers no longer doubt of the motion of the planets about the sun, it is fit he should proceed upon that hypothesis, which is not only the simplest and least perplexed for a learner but also the likeliest to be true in itself. But in this, as in all other parts of instruction, great care must be taken with children, to begin with that which is plain and simple, and to teach them as little as can be at once, and settle that well in their heads, before you proceed to the next, or any thing new in that science. Give them first one simple idea, and see that they take it right, and perfectly comprehend it before you go any farther, and then add some other simple idea which lies next in your way to what you aim at, and so proceeding by gentle and insensible steps, children, without confusion and amazement,

will have their understandings opened, and their thoughts extended farther than could have been expected. And when any one has learned any thing himself, there is no such way to fix it in his memory, and to encourage him to go on, as to set him to teach it others.

## [GEOMETRY.]

181. When he has once got such an acquaintance with the globes, as is above mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in geometry; wherein I think the six first books of Euclid enough for him to be taught. For I am in some doubt, whether more to a man of business be necessary or useful. At least, if he have a genius and inclination to it, being entered so far by his tutor, he will be able to go on of himself without a teacher.

The globes therefore must be studied, and that diligently; and I think may be begun betimes, if the tutor will but be careful to distinguish what the child is capable of knowing, and what not; for which this may be a rule that perhaps will go a pretty way, viz. that children may be taught any thing that falls under their senses, especially their sight, as far as their memories only are exercised: and thus a child very young may learn which is the equator, which the meridian, &c., which Europe, and which England, upon the globes, as soon almost as he knows the rooms of the house he lives in, if care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to set him upon a new part, till that, which he is upon, be perfectly learned and fixed in his memory.

## [CHRONOLOGY.]

182. With geography, chronology ought to go hand in hand. I mean the general part of it, so that he may have in his mind a view of the whole current



of time, and the several considerable epochs that are made use of in history. Without these two, history, which is the great mistress of prudence and civil knowledge; and ought to be the proper study of a gentleman, or man of business in the world, without geography and chronology, I say, history will be very ill retained, and very little useful; but be only a jumble of matters of fact, confusedly heaped together without order or instruction. It is by these two, that the actions of mankind are ranked into their proper places of times and countries, under which circumstances, they are not only much easier kept in the memory, but in that natural order, are only capable to afford those observations, which make a man the better and the abler for reading them.

183. When I speak of chronology as a science he should be perfect in, I do not mean the little controversies that are in it. These are endless, and most of them of so little importance to a gentleman, as not to deserve to be inquired into, were they capable of any easy decision. And therefore all that learned noise and dust of the chronologist is wholly to be avoided. The most useful book I have seen in that part of learning, is a small treatise of Strauchius,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Prudence and civil knowledge**] i.e. practical wisdom and knowledge of public affairs. Chronology is undoubtedly indispensable to the study of history, but should not be studied as a separate subject. The leading dates of history should be taught in connection with the events to which they relate, and should be constantly referred to as guides to other dates. If the sequence of cause and effect be traced in the study of history, the intermediate events occurring between these time-marks can be referred with tolerable accuracy to their proper place, without imposing on the child the trouble of remembering the date of each.

<sup>2</sup> **Strauchius**] 'Strauchius's work has now sunk into obscurity; nor has any other system of chronology been very long-lived, or afforded much satisfaction to any but their inventors. I mean in reference to remote ages. Gagnet, however, in his *Origine des Loix*, has some useful details; and for Grecian history, subsequent to the *Fifty-fifth Olympiad*, I may venture to recommend the *Fasti Hellenici* of Mr. Fynes Clinton.' *St. J.*

which is printed in twelves, under the title of *Breviarium Chronologicum*, out of which may be selected all that is necessary to be taught a young gentleman concerning chronology; for all that is in that treatise a learner need not be cumbered with. He has in him the most remarkable or useful epochs reduced all to that of the Julian period<sup>1</sup> which is the easiest, plainest, and surest method, that can be made use of in chronology. To this treatise of Strauchius, Helvicus's tables may be added, as a book to be turned to on all occasions.

## [HISTORY.]

184. As nothing teaches, so nothing delights more than history. The first of these recommends it to the study of grown men, the latter makes me think it the fittest for a young lad, who as soon as he is instructed in chronology, and acquainted with the several epochs in use in this part of the world, and can reduce them to the Julian period, should then have some Latin history<sup>2</sup> put into his hand. The choice should be

<sup>1</sup> Julian period] A period of 7,980 years, which was reckoned as having begun 4,713 years before our era. It was employed in order to avoid the ambiguity arising from the uncertainty of the date of the creation. The Julian Period is obtained by the multiplication of 28, the years of the solar cycle, by 19, the years of the lunar cycle, and the product by 15, the years of the Roman indiction, a cycle instituted by Constantine the Great and adopted at the Council of Nicæa.

<sup>2</sup> Latin history] The proper history for a child to begin with would seem to be that of his own country. Some have even contended that we should begin with the history of our own times; but though the history of our own times is of more importance to us than that of remote periods, it does not follow that it should be placed first before children. The events of which it is made up do not stir childish curiosity, and are too complicated to be understood by unformed and uninstructed minds. In history, as in every other subject, we should follow nature, and there can be no question that a child takes most delight in those portions of history which relate to personal adventure and to the manners and customs of bygone ages. What the teacher has to bear in mind is that a child ought not to rest here, but should be

directed by the easiness of the style ; for wherever he begins, chronology will keep it from confusion ; and the pleasantness of the subject inviting him to read, the language will insensibly be got, without that terrible vexation and uneasiness, which children suffer, where they are put into books beyond their capacity ; such as are the Roman orators and poets, only to learn the Roman language. When he has by reading mastered the easier, such perhaps as Justin, Eutropius, Quintus Curtius, &c., the next degree to these, will give him no great trouble : and thus by a gradual progress from the plainest and easiest historians, he may at last come to read the most difficult and sublime of the Latin authors, such as are Tully, Virgil, and Horace.

## [ETHICS.]

185. The knowledge of virtue, all along from the beginning, in all the instances he is capable of, being taught him more by practice than rules ; and the love of reputation,<sup>1</sup> instead of satisfying his appetite, being made habitual in him, I know not whether he should read any other discourses of morality, but what he finds in the Bible ; or have any system of ethics put into his hand, till he can read Tully's Offices,<sup>2</sup> not as a school-boy to learn Latin, but as one that would be

gradually led on to the more important truths which history has to teach. As a rule, too much prominence is given to wars and court intrigues.

<sup>1</sup> **The love of reputation]** Locke gives far too great a prominence to this motive all through his essay. Surely the love of God and man is a nobler and more powerful motive to right conduct than a mere selfish love of reputation.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cicero's treatise *De Officiis*, particularly the first and second books, in which he follows the philosopher Panætius, ought certainly to be diligently studied by all who would comprehend the science of morals. But ancient literature contains a work of far superior merit—a work in which for the first time, and perhaps for the last, the subject has been philosophically treated—I mean Aristotle's Ethics.' *St. J.*

informed in the principles and precepts of virtue, for the conduct of his life.

[CIVIL LAW.]

186. When he has pretty well digested Tully's Offices, and added to it Puffendorf de Officio Hominis et Civis, it may be seasonable to set him upon Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, or, which perhaps is the better of the two, Puffendorf de Jure naturali et Gentium ; wherein he will be instructed in the natural rights of men, and the origin and foundation of society, and the duties resulting from thence. This general part of civil law and history, are studies which a gentleman should not barely touch at, but constantly dwell upon, and never have done with. A virtuous and well-behaved young man, that is well versed in the general part of the civil law, (which concerns not the chicane of private cases, but the affairs and intercourse of civilised nations in general, grounded upon principles of reason,) understands Latin well, and can write a good hand, one may turn loose into the world, with great assurance that he will find employment and esteem<sup>1</sup> everywhere.

[LAW.]

187. It would be strange to suppose an English gentleman should be ignorant of the law of his country. This, whatever station he is in, is so requisite, that from a justice of the peace, to a minister of state, I know no place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the chicane, or wrangling and captious part of the law : a gentleman, whose business is to

<sup>1</sup> **Employment and esteem**] Yes, but he would still have large parts of his mind left uncultivated ; he would be at a loss to fill up much of his leisure ; and, though he might make a very useful justice of the peace, he would, I suspect, be a somewhat dull companion,

seek the true measures of right and wrong, and not the arts how to avoid doing the one, and secure himself in doing the other, ought to be as far from such a study of the law, as he is concerned diligently to apply himself to that, wherein he may be serviceable to his country. And to that purpose, I think the right way for a gentleman to study our law, which he does not design for his calling, is to take a view of our English constitution and government, in the ancient books<sup>1</sup> of the common law; and some more modern writers, who out of them have given an account of this government. And having got a true idea of that, then to read our history, and with it join in every king's reign, the laws then made. This will give an insight into the reason of our statutes, and show the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have.

[RHETORIC AND LOGIC.]

188. Rhetoric and logic being the arts, that in the ordinary method usually follow immediately after grammar, it may perhaps be wondered that I have said so little of them. The reason is, because of the little advantage young people receive by them: for I have seldom or never observed any one to get the skill of reasoning well, or speaking handsomely, by studying those rules which pretend to teach it: and therefore I would have a young gentleman take a view of

<sup>1</sup> **Ancient books]** Cf. the following passage from the *Essay on the Human Understanding*. 'With the history, he may also do well to read the ancient lawyers; such as Bracton, *Fleta*; Henningham, *Mirror of Justice*; my Lord Coke's *Second Institutes*, and the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*; and others of that kind, which he may find quoted in the late controversies between Mr. Petit, Mr. Tyrrel, Mr. Atwood, &c. with Dr. Brady; as also, I suppose, in Sedler's (*Sadleir's*) treatise of *Rights of the Kingdom*, and *Customs of our Ancestors*, whereof the first edition is the best; wherein he will find the ancient constitution of the government of England.'

them in the shortest systems that could be found, without dwelling long on the contemplation and study of those formalities. Right reasoning is founded on something else than the predicaments<sup>1</sup> and the predicables,<sup>2</sup> and does not consist in talking in mode and figure<sup>3</sup> itself. But it is beside my present business to enlarge upon this speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand : if you would have your son reason well, let him read Chillingworth ;<sup>4</sup> and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully, to give him the true idea of eloquence ; and let him read those things that are well writ in English, to perfect his style in the purity of our language.

<sup>1</sup> **Predicaments]** The predicaments, or categories, as they are otherwise called, are the classes under which all the objects of knowledge are included. The categories, as arranged by Aristotle, are ten in number, viz., substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, situation, possession, action, and suffering. The predicaments are so called because they can be predicated of all other terms.

<sup>2</sup> **Predicables]** This term is applied in logic to the five classes of predicates, viz., genus, species, difference, property, and accident.

<sup>3</sup> **Mode and figure]** See note 2, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> **Chillingworth** was a favourite with Locke. His great work, *The Religion of Protestants*, was published in 1637, and is a model of close reasoning. The study of the works of great thinkers is undoubtedly helpful in forming a logical habit of mind, but it does not render the study of logic unnecessary. Mr. J. S. Mill says : 'Familiarity with the correct use of a language in conversation and writing does not make rules of grammar unnecessary ; nor does the amplest knowledge of the sciences of reasoning and experiment dispense with rules of logic. We may have heard correct reasonings and seen skilful experiments all our lives ; we shall not learn by mere imitation to do the like, unless we pay careful attention to how it is done. It is much easier in these abstruse matters, than in purely mechanical ones, to mistake bad work for good. To mark out the difference between them is the work of logic. Logic lays down the general principles and laws of the search after truth ; the conditions which, whether recognised or not, must actually have been observed if the mind has done its work rightly. Logic is the intellectual complement of mathematics and physics. These sciences give the practice of which logic is the theory. It declares the principles, rules, and precepts, of which they exemplify the observance.' (*Inaugural Address at St. Andrews*, p. 26.) Perhaps the great value of logic was never better summed up than in the remark, that '*it sets a keen edge upon the mind.*'

189. If the use and end of right reasoning, be to have right notions and a right judgment of things, to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and to act accordingly : be sure not to let your son be bred up in the art and formality of disputing, either practising it himself, or admiring it in others ; unless instead of an able man, you desire to have him an insignificant wrangler, opiniater<sup>1</sup> in discourse, and priding himself in contradicting others ; or, which is worse, questioning every thing, and thinking there is no such thing as truth to be sought, but only victory in disputing. There cannot be any thing so disingenuous, or so misbecoming a gentleman, or any one who pretends to be a rational creature, as not to yield to plain reason, and the conviction of clear arguments. Is there anything more inconsistent with civil conversation, and the end of all debate, than not to take an answer, though never so full and satisfactory, but still to go on with the dispute as long as equivocal sounds<sup>2</sup> can furnish (a *medius terminus*) a term to wrangle with on the one side, or a distinction on the other ? whether pertinent or impertinent, sense or nonsense, agreeing with, or contrary to what he had said before, it matters not. For this, in short, is the way and perfection of logical disputes, that the opponent never takes any answer, nor the respondent ever yields to any argument. This neither of them must do, whatever becomes of truth or knowledge, unless he will pass for a poor baffled wretch, and lie under the disgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirmed, which is the great aim and glory in disputing. Truth is to be found and

<sup>1</sup> **Opiniater**] i.e. a person strongly wedded to his own opinions.

<sup>2</sup> **Equivocal sounds**] Locke refers to what logicians call the fallacy of ambiguous middle, in which, taking advantage of the twofold meaning of the middle term (*medius terminus*), one term of the premisses is compared with one meaning of the middle term, and the other term with the other meaning.

supported by a mature and due consideration of things themselves, and not by artificial terms and ways of arguing: these lead not men so much into the discovery of truth, as into a captious and fallacious use of doubtful words, which is the most useless and most offensive way of talking, and such as least suits a gentleman or a lover of truth of any thing in the world.

There can scarce be a greater defect in a gentleman, than not to express himself well either in writing or speaking. But yet I think I may ask my reader, whether he doth not know a great many, who live upon their estates, and so, with the name, should have the qualities of gentlemen, who cannot as much as tell a story as they should, much less speak clearly and persuasively in any business. This I think not to be so much their fault, as the fault of their education; for I must, without partiality, do my countrymen this right, that where they apply themselves, I see none of their neighbours outgo them. They have been taught rhetoric, but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomely with their tongues or pens in the language they are always to use; as if the names of the figures that embellished the discourses of those who understood the art of speaking, were the very art and skill of speaking well. This, as all other things of practice, is to be learned, not by a few or a great many rules given, but by exercise and application, according to good rules, or rather patterns, till habits are got, and a facility of doing it well.

## [STYLE.]

Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiss, to make children, as soon as they are capable of it, often to tell a story<sup>1</sup> of any thing they know;

<sup>1</sup> To tell a story] This is the first step towards written composi-



and to correct at first the most remarkable fault they are guilty of in their way of putting it together. When that fault is cured, then to show them the next; and so on, till one after another, all, at least the gross ones, are mended. When they can tell tales pretty well, then it may be the time to make them write them. The fables of Æsop, the only book almost that I know fit for children, may afford them matter for this exercise of writing English, as well as for reading and translating, to enter them in the Latin tongue. When they are got past the faults of grammar, and can join in a continued coherent discourse the several parts of a story, without bald and unhandsome forms of transition (as is usual) often repeated, he that desires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the first step to speaking well, and needs no invention, may have recourse to Tully, and by putting in practice those rules which that master of eloquence gives, in his first book, de Inventione, § 20, make them know wherein the skill and graces of a handsome narrative, according to the several subjects and designs of it, lie. Of each of which rules fit examples may be found out, and therein they may be shown how others have practised them. The ancient classic authors afford plenty of such examples, which they should be made not only to translate, but have set before them as patterns for their daily imitation.

When they understand how to write English with due connexion, propriety, and order, and are pretty well masters of a tolerable narrative style, they may be advanced to writing of letters: wherein they should not be put upon any strains of wit or compliment, but taught to express their own plain easy sense,

tion. The teacher will note Locke's suggestion, that only one error or class of errors should be corrected at a time. Profuse criticism discourages a child, and has the effect of making him over-solicitous about what he says, and so unnatural and constrained, or even of closing his mouth altogether.

without any incoherence, confusion or roughness. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raise their thoughts, have set before them the example of Voiture<sup>1</sup> for the entertainment of their friends at a distance, with letters of compliment, mirth, rally or diversion; and Tully's Epistles, as the best pattern, whether for business or conversation. The writing of letters has so much to do in all the occurrences of human life, that no gentleman can avoid showing himself in this kind of writing. Occasions will daily force him to make this use of his pen, which besides the consequences that, in his affairs, his well or ill-managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a severer examination of his breeding, sense, and abilities, than oral discourses; whose transient faults dying for the most part with the sound that gives them life, and so not subject to a strict review, more easily escape observation and censure.

Had the methods of education been directed to their right end, one would have thought this so necessary a part could not have been neglected, whilst themes and verses in Latin, of no use at all, were so constantly everywhere pressed, to the racking of children's inventions beyond their strength, and hindering their cheerful progress in learning the tongues by unnatural difficulties. But custom has so ordained it, and who dares disobey? And would it not be very unreasonable to require of a learned country schoolmaster (who has all the tropes and figures in Farnaby's rhetoric<sup>2</sup> at his finger ends) to teach his

<sup>1</sup> Voiture's letters were regarded as models of epistolary correspondence, and were much imitated, both in England and France. Traces of his influence may be seen in Locke's own early letters from the Continent. 'The object' of the imitator of Voiture, says Hallam, 'was to say what meant little, with the utmost novelty in the mode, and with the most ingenious compliment to the person addressed: so that he should admire himself and admire the writer.'

<sup>2</sup> Farnaby's rhetoric] Thomas Farnaby was born in London in

scholar to express himself handsomely in English, when it appears to be so little his business or thought, that the boy's mother (despised, it is like, as illiterate for not having read a system of logic and rhetoric) outdoes him in it?

To write and speak correctly, gives a grace, and gains a favourable attention to what one has to say : and since it is English that an English gentleman will have constant use of, that is the language he should chiefly cultivate, and wherein most care should be taken to polish and perfect his style. To speak or write better Latin than English, may make a man be talked of, but he will find it more to his purpose to express himself well in his own tongue, that he uses every moment, than to have the vain commendation of others for a very insignificant quality. This I find universally neglected, and no care taken anywhere to improve young men in their own language, that they may thoroughly understand and be masters of it. If any one among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother tongue, it is owing to chance, or his genius, or any thing, rather than to his education, or any care of his teacher. To mind what English his pupil speaks or writes, is below the dignity of one bred up amongst Greek and Latin, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned languages fit only for learned men to meddle with and teach ; English is the language of the illiterate vulgar : though yet we see the polity of some of our neighbours<sup>1</sup> hath not thought it beneath

1575, and after a somewhat eventful youth settled down to the profession of a schoolmaster, in which he achieved a great reputation. Wood says he was 'the chief grammarian, rhetorician, poet, Latinist, and Grecian of his time ; and his school was so much frequented that more churchmen and statesmen issued thence than from any school taught by one man in England.' His *Rhetoric* was published in 1625. He died in 1647.

<sup>1</sup> **Neighbours**] Locke refers to the efforts made in France to im-

the public care to promote and reward the improvement of their own language. Polishing and enriching their tongue, is no small business amongst them ; it hath colleges and stipends<sup>1</sup> appointed it, and there is raised amongst them a great ambition and emulation of writing correctly : and we see what they are come to by it, and how far they have spread one of the worst languages possibly in this part of the world, if we look upon it as it was in some few reigns backwards, whatever it be now. The great men among the Romans were daily exercising themselves in their own language ; and we find yet upon record, the names of orators, who taught some of their emperors Latin,<sup>2</sup> though it were their mother tongue.

prove the mother-tongue. The design of the Académie Française, which was founded by Richelieu in 1637, was to 'purify the language from vulgar, technical, or ignorant usage, and to establish a fixed standard. The Academicians undertook to guard scrupulously the correctness of their own works, examining the arguments, the method, the style, the structure of each particular word.' (Hallam.) To carry out its intention the Academy resolved to bring out a dictionary, a grammar, and two treatises, one on Rhetoric and Poetry ; but, as might be expected, they soon found out how ill-fitted a large body is to bring out joint works, every part of which has to be discussed by all of its members. The Dictionary of the Academy did not appear till 1694. The Academia della Crusca of Florence had rendered a similar service to Italian by the publishing of its famous Vocabolario degli Accademici, the fruits of forty years' constant labour. In 1713 an Academy was founded at Madrid, which, between 1726 and 1739, published a valuable dictionary of the Spanish language.

<sup>1</sup> **Colleges and stipends]** I do not know what colleges Locke here refers to, unless it be to the Academy. The Academicians, however, received no salary. See Voltaire's *Dict. Phil.* art. 'Académie.' Locke greatly exaggerates the value of the labours of the Academy. The true refiners of the French language in the 16th century were, not the famous 'Forty,' but the great writers of that century. The Forty could only, as Montesquieu said, register the decrees of the people. At the same time the establishment of the Academy had an indirect effect on the language, by setting up a standard of right and wrong in language, and so contributing to form a kind of grammatical conscience. See Mr. Matthew Arnold's Essay on 'Academies.'

<sup>2</sup> **Latin]** Thus the celebrated rhetorician and grammarian Fronto was appointed by Antoninus Pius to teach Latin to his two adopted sons, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

It is plain the Greeks were yet more nice in theirs. All other speech was barbarous to them but their own,<sup>1</sup> and no foreign language appears to have been studied or valued amongst that learned and acute people ; though it be past doubt that they borrowed their learning and philosophy from abroad.

I am not here speaking against Greek and Latin ; I think they ought to be studied, and the Latin at least understood well by every gentleman. But whatever foreign languages a young man meddles with, (and the more he knows the better,) that which he should critically study, and labour to get a facility, clearness, and elegancy to express himself in, should be his own ; and to this purpose he should daily be exercised in it.

[NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.]

190. Natural philosophy, as a speculative science,<sup>2</sup> I imagine we have none, and perhaps I may think I have reason to say we never shall be able to make a science of it. The works of nature are contrived by a wisdom, and operate by ways too far surpassing our faculties to discover, or capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them into a science. Natural philosophy being the knowledge of the principles, properties and operations of things as they

<sup>1</sup> But their own] The brilliant achievements of the Greeks in all departments of literature, in spite of their ignorance of other languages, have been urged as a proof that the study of foreign languages is not essential to literary culture. This conclusion could be established, so far as it is capable of being established, without going so far as Greece ; but, as Mr. J. S. Mill points out in a passage already quoted, Greek philosophers might have avoided many errors had their attention been more closely directed by the study of language to the influence of words upon thought. See p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> As a speculative science] Locke is here thinking of systems of the universe, giving 'a body of natural philosophy from the first principles of bodies in general,' such as had been propounded by the ancients and by Descartes. See §§ 193, 194.

are in themselves, I imagine there are two parts of it, one comprehending spirits,<sup>1</sup> with their nature and qualities, and other, bodies. ~~The first of these is usually referred to metaphysics~~ : but under what title soever the consideration of spirits comes, I think it ought to go before the study of matter and body, not as a science that can be methodised into a system, and treated of upon principles of knowledge ; but as an enlargement of our minds towards a truer and fuller comprehension of the intellectual world, to which we are led both by reason and revelation. And since the clearest and largest discoveries we have of other spirits, besides God and our own souls, is imparted to us from Heaven by revelation, I think the information, that at least young people should have of them, should be taken from that revelation. To this purpose, I conclude, it would be well, if there were made a good history of the Bible for young people to read ; wherein if every thing that is fit to be put into it, were laid down in its due order of time, and several things omitted which are suited only to riper age, that confusion which is usually produced by promiscuous reading of the Scripture, as it lies now bound up in our Bibles, would be avoided. And also this other good obtained, that by reading of it constantly, there would be instilled into the minds of children a notion and belief of spirits, they having so much to do in all the transactions of that history, which will be a good preparation to the study of bodies. For without the notion and allowance of spirit, our philosophy will be lame and defective in one main part of it, when it leaves out the contemplation of the most excellent and powerful part of the creation.

<sup>1</sup> **Spirits**] i.e. spiritual existences of all kinds. Our knowledge of spirits being mainly derived from revelation, there can be no reason why we should defer the teaching of it, even if it were not bound up with the practical duties of religion.

191. Of this history of the Bible, I think too it would be well, if there were a short and plain epitome made, containing the chief and most material heads, for children to be conversant in as soon as they can read. This, though it will lead them early into some notion of spirits, yet it is not contrary to what I said above, that I would not have children troubled, whilst young, with notions of spirits; whereby my meaning was that I think it inconvenient that their yet tender minds should receive early impressions of goblins, spectres, and apparitions, wherewith their maids, and those about them, are apt to fright them into a compliance with their orders, which often proves a great inconvenience to them all their lives after, by subjecting their minds to frights, fearful apprehensions, weakness, and superstition; which, when coming abroad into the world and conversation,<sup>1</sup> they grow weary and ashamed of, it not seldom happens, that to make, as they think, a thorough cure, and ease themselves of a load which has sat so heavy on them, they throw away the thoughts of all spirits together, and so run into the other, but worse extreme.

192. The reason why I would have this premised to the study of bodies, and the doctrine of the Scriptures well imbibed before young men be entered in natural philosophy, is, because matter, being a thing that all our senses are constantly conversant with, it is so apt to possess the mind, and exclude all other beings, but matter; that prejudice, grounded on such principles, often leaves no room for the admittance of spirits, or the allowing any such thing as *immaterial Beings in rerum naturâ*; when yet it is evident, that by mere matter and motion, none of the great phenomena of nature can be resolved, to instance but in that common one of gravity, which I

<sup>1</sup> Conversation] i.e. intercourse with society.

think impossible to be explained by any natural operation of matter, or any other law of motion, but the positive will of a superior Being so ordering it. And therefore since the deluge<sup>1</sup> cannot be well explained, without admitting something out of the ordinary course of nature, I propose it to be considered, whether God's altering the centre of gravity in the earth for a time (a thing as intelligible as gravity itself, which perhaps a little variation of causes unknown to us would produce) will not more easily account for Noah's flood than any hypothesis yet made use of to solve it. I hear the great objection to this, is, that it would produce but a partial deluge. But the alteration of the centre of gravity once allowed, it is no hard matter to conceive that the Divine Power might make the centre of gravity, placed at a due distance from the centre of the earth, move round it in a convenient space of time, whereby the flood would become universal, and as I think, answer all the phenomena of the deluge, as delivered by Moses, at an easier rate than those many hard suppositions that are made use of to explain it. But this is not a place for that argument, which is here only mentioned by the by, to show the necessity of having recourse to something beyond bare matter and its motion in the explication of nature; to which the notions of spirits and their power, as delivered in the Bible, where so much is attributed to their operation, may be a fit preparative, reserving to a fitter opportunity a fuller explication of this hypothesis, and the application of it to all parts of the deluge, and any difficulties that can be supposed in the history of the flood, as recorded in the Scripture.

<sup>1</sup> **The deluge]** No wise teacher of children would attempt to account for gravity or for an event like the deluge. There are many facts which admit of no explanation; there are others which, if taught to children at all, must be received by them, at first, on authority.



193. But to return to the study of natural philosophy. Though the world be full of systems of it, yet I cannot say I know any one which can be taught a young man as a science, wherein he may be sure to find truth and certainty, which is what all sciences give an expectation of. I do not hence conclude, that none of them are to be read. It is necessary for a gentleman, in this learned age, to look into some of them to fit himself for conversation: but whether that of Descartes be put into his hands, as that which is most in fashion, or it be thought fit to give him a short view of that and several others also, I think the systems of natural philosophy, that have obtained in this part of the world, are to be read more to know the hypothesis, and to understand the terms and ways of talking of the several sects, than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehensive, scientific, and satisfactory knowledge of the works of nature. Only this may be said, that the modern Corpuscularians<sup>1</sup> talk, in most things, more intelligibly than the Peripatetics, who possessed the schools immediately before them. He that would look farther back, and acquaint himself with the several opinions of the ancients, may consult Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System, wherein that very learned author hath with such accurateness and judgment collected and explained the opinions of the Greek philosophers, that what principles they built on, and what were the chief hypotheses that divided them, is better to be seen in him, than anywhere else that I know. But I would not deter any one from the study of nature, because all the knowledge we have, or possibly can have of it, cannot be brought into a science.<sup>2</sup> There are very

<sup>1</sup> Corpuscularians] Under this name are included 'all those philosophers who recognise the existence of nothing except what has extension of parts, viz. : matter. The Peripatetics are philosophers of the school of Aristotle.' S. See note 4, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> A science] It is clear from the context that by "a science" Locke means a body of verified and verifiable truth.

many things in it, that are convenient and necessary to be known to a gentleman: and a great many others, that will abundantly reward the pains of the curious with delight and advantage. But these, I think, are rather to be found amongst such writers as have employed themselves in making rational experiments and observations, than in starting barely speculative systems. Such writings therefore, as many of Mr. Boyle's<sup>1</sup> are, with others, who have wrote of husbandry, planting, gardening, and the like, may be fit for a gentleman, when he has a little acquainted himself with some of the systems of the natural philosophy in fashion.

194. Though the systems of physics, that I have met with, afford little encouragement to look for certainty or science in any treatise, which shall pretend to give us a body of natural philosophy from the first principles of bodies in general, yet the incomparable Mr. Newton has shown, how far mathematics, applied to some parts of nature, may, upon principles that matter of fact justifies, carry us in the knowledge of some, as I may so call them, particular provinces of the incomprehensible universe.<sup>2</sup> And if others could give us so good and clear an account of other parts of nature, as he has of this our planetary world, and the most considerable phænomena observable in it, in his admirable book, *Philosophiæ naturalis Principia Mathematica*,<sup>3</sup> we might in time hope to be furnished with more true and certain knowledge in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Boyle's] The researches of the Hon. Robert Boyle were, for the most part, embodied in treatises which originally appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. They relate mainly to chemistry and natural philosophy, particularly to the properties of the air.

<sup>2</sup> Incomprehensible universe] i.e. incomprehensible as a whole, as distinguished from its comprehensible parts.

<sup>3</sup> *Principia Mathematica*, &c.] [The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy.] Newton's great work appeared in 1687, six years before the publication of Locke's *Thoughts*.

several parts of this stupendous machine, than hitherto we could have expected. And though there are very few, that have mathematics enough to understand his demonstrations; yet the most accurate mathematicians, who have examined them, allowing them to be such, his book will deserve to be read, and give no small light and pleasure to those, who, willing to understand the motions, properties, and operations of the great masses of matter, in this our solar system, will but carefully mind his conclusions, which may be depended on as propositions well proved.

*For studies*

[GREEK.]

195. This is, in short, ~~what I have thought~~ concerning a young gentleman's studies; wherein it will possibly be wondered that I should omit Greek, since amongst the Grecians is to be found the original, as it were, and foundation of all that learning which we have in this part of the world. I grant it so; and will add, that no man can pass for a scholar that is ignorant of the Greek tongue. But I am not here considering the education of a professed scholar, but of a gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the world now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a man,<sup>1</sup> if he has a mind to carry his studies farther, and look into the Greek learning, he will then easily get that tongue himself: and if he has not that inclination, his learning of it under a tutor will be but lost labour, and much of his time and pains spent in that, which will be neglected and thrown away as soon as he is at

<sup>1</sup> A man] In judging of Locke's curriculum it is only fair to him to recognise the fact that he does not restrict education to the periods of childhood and adolescence, but conceives it as going on all through life. The tutor's business in early education is to infuse a taste of learning, and to form habits of study which will be voluntarily maintained in after-life.

liberty. For how many are there of an hundred, even amongst scholars themselves, who retain the Greek they carried from school; or ever improve it to a familiar reading, and perfect understanding of Greek authors?

To conclude this part, which concerns a young gentleman's studies, his tutor should remember, that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a love and esteem of knowledge, and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himself, when he has a mind to it.

The thoughts of a judicious author<sup>1</sup> on the subject of languages, I shall here give the reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expressing them: He says, 'One can scarce burden children too much with the knowledge of languages. They are useful to men of all conditions, and they equally open them the entrance, either to the most profound, or the more easy and entertaining parts of learning. If this irksome study be put off to a little more advanced age, young men either have not resolution enough to apply to it out of choice, or steadiness to carry it on. And if any one has the gift of perseverance, it is not without the inconvenience of spending that time upon languages, which is destined to other uses. And he confines to the study of words that age of his life that is above it, and requires things; at least, it is the losing the best and beautifullest season of one's life. This large foundation of languages cannot be well laid, but when every thing makes an easy and deep impression on the mind; when the memory is fresh, ready, and tenacious; when the head and heart are yet as free from cares, passions, and designs; and those on whom the child depends have authority enough to keep him close to a long continued applica-

<sup>1</sup> A judicious author] La Bruyère, *Mœurs du Siècle*, pp. 577, 662.

tion. I am persuaded, that the small number of truly learned, and the multitude of superficial pretenders is owing to the neglect of this.'

I think every body will agree with this observing gentleman, that languages are the proper study of our first years. But it is to be considered by the parents and tutors, what tongues it is fit the child should learn. For it must be confessed, that it is fruitless pains, and loss of time to learn a language which, in the course of life that he is designed to, he is never like to make use of, or which one may guess by his temper he will wholly neglect and lose again, as soon as an approach to manhood, setting him free from a governor, shall put him into the hands of his own inclination, which is not likely to allot any of his time ✓ to the cultivating the learned tongues, or dispose him to mind any other language, but what daily use, or some particular necessity shall force upon him.

But yet, for the sake of those who are designed to be scholars, I will add, what the same author sub-joins, to make good his foregoing remark. It will deserve to be considered by all who desire to be truly learned, and therefore may be a fit rule for tutors to inculcate, and leave with their pupils to guide their future studies.

'The study,' says he, 'of the original text can never be sufficiently recommended. It is the shortest, surest, and most agreeable way to all sorts of learning. Draw from the spring-head, and take not things at second-hand. Let the writings of the great masters be never laid aside, dwell upon them, settle them in your mind, and cite them upon occasion; make it your business thoroughly to understand them in their full extent, and all their circumstances: acquaint yourself fully with the principles of original authors; bring them to a consistency, and then do you yourself make your deductions. In this state were the first

commentators, and do not you rest till you bring yourself to the same. Content not yourself with those borrowed lights, nor guide yourself by their views, but where your own fails you, and leaves you in the dark. Their explications are not yours, and will give you the slip. On the contrary, your own observations are the product of your own mind, where they will abide, and be ready at hand upon all occasions in converse, consultation, and dispute. Lose not the pleasure it is to see that you were not stopped in your reading, but by difficulties that are invincible; where the commentators and scholiasts themselves are at a stand, and have nothing to say. Those copious expositors of other places,<sup>1</sup> who with a vain and pompous overflow of learning, poured out on passages plain and easy in themselves; are very free of their words and pains, where there is no need. Convince yourself fully by this ordering your studies, that it is nothing but men's laziness which hath encouraged pedantry to cram, rather than enrich libraries, and to bury good authors under heaps of notes and commentaries, and you will perceive that sloth herein hath acted against itself, and its own interest, by multiplying reading and inquiries, and increasing the pains it endeavoured to avoid.

This, though it may seem to concern none but direct scholars, is of so great moment for the right ordering of their education and studies, that I hope I shall not be blamed for inserting of it here; especially if it be considered, that it may be of use to gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the surface, and get to themselves a solid, satisfactory, and masterly insight in any part of learning.

<sup>1</sup> Places] i.e. passages. Cf. 'The place of the Scripture which he read.' (Acts viii. 32.) 'Common-place book.' τόπος in Greek and locus in Latin were used in the same way.

Order and constancy are said to make the great difference between one man and another: this I am sure, nothing so much clears a learner's way, helps him so much on it, and makes him go so easy and so far in any inquiry, as a good method. His governor should take pains to make him sensible of this, accustom him to order,<sup>1</sup> and teach him method in all the application of his thoughts; show him wherein it lies, and the advantages of it; acquaint him with the several sorts of it, either from general to particulars, or from particulars to what is more general; exercise him in both of them; and make him see in what cases each different method is most proper, and to what ends it best serves.

¶ In history the order of time<sup>2</sup> should govern, in philosophical inquiries that of nature, which in all progression is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it; and so it is in the mind, from the knowledge it stands possessed of already, to that which lies next, and is coherent to it, and so on to what it aims at, by the simplest and most uncompound parts it can divide the matter into. To this purpose, it will be of great use to his pupil to accustom him to distinguish well, that is, to

<sup>1</sup> Order] 'On this subject Helvetius makes a remark which ought to acquire the weight of a maxim: "Order lengthens the day, disorder shortens it." In fact, he who studies without order will die without learning; and he who lives without it will never be wise.' *St. J.*

<sup>2</sup> The order of time] There is another principle to be recognised in arranging the order of studies, and that is the order of mental development. Locke's remark on the order of physical science is admirable. The words, 'All progression is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it,' should be written over the door of every school and every laboratory. The teaching of 'common things' is the best way of approaching the formal study of the various branches of physical science to which they belong. The geography of our own immediate neighbourhood is the best introduction to the geography of the world. Local history is the best introduction to national history, national to general, and so with other subjects.

have distinct notions, wherever the mind can find any real difference ; but as carefully to avoid distinctions in terms, where he has not distinct and different clear ideas.

[SECTION XXV. §§ 196-209.]

[ACCOMPLISHMENTS—DANCING.]

196. Besides what is to be had from study and books, there are ~~other accomplishments necessary~~ for a gentleman, to be got by exercise, and to ~~which time~~ is to be allowed, and for ~~which masters~~ must be had.

Dancing being that which gives graceful motions all the life, and above all things manliness, and a becoming confidence to young children, I think it cannot be learned too early, after they are once of an age and strength capable of it. But you must be sure to have a good master, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a freedom and easiness to all the motions of the body. One that teaches not this, is worse than none at all : natural unfashionableness being much better than apish affected postures ; and I think it much more passable, to put off the hat, and make a leg,<sup>1</sup> like an honest country gentleman, than like an ill-fashioned dancing-master. For as for the jiggling part, and the figures of dances, I count that little or nothing, further than as it tends to perfect graceful carriage.

[MUSIC.]

197. Music is thought to have some affinity with dancing, and a good hand upon some instruments, is by many people mightily valued. But it wastes so much of a young man's time to gain but a moderate skill in it ; and engages often in such odd company,

<sup>1</sup> **Make a leg** ] i.e. make a bow. See note, p. 133.



that many think it much better spared : and I have, amongst men of parts and business, so seldom heard any one commended<sup>1</sup> or esteemed for having an excellency in music, that amongst all those things, that ever came into the list of accomplishments, I think I may give it the last place. Our short lives will not serve us for the attainment of all things ; nor can our minds be always intent on something to be learned. The weakness of our constitutions, both of mind and body, requires that we should be often un-bent : and he that will make use of any part of his life, must allow a large portion of it to recreation. At least, this must not be denied to young people ; unless whilst you, with too much haste, make them old, you have the displeasure to set them in their graves, or a second childhood, sooner than you could wish. And therefore, I think, that the time and pains allotted to serious improvements, should be employed about things of most use and consequence, and that too in the methods the most easy and short, that could be at any rate obtained : and perhaps, as I have above said, it would be none of the least secrets of education, to make the exercises of the body and mind, the recreation one to another. I doubt not but that something might be done in it, by a prudent man, that would well consider the temper and inclination of his pupil. For he that is wearied either with study or dancing, does not desire presently<sup>2</sup> to go to sleep, but to do something else, which may divert and delight him. But this must be always remembered, that nothing can come into the account of recreation, that is not done with delight.

<sup>1</sup> **Commended]** 'Locke judges of music, as of poetry, very superficially and partially. He has not a word to say on its refining and elevating powers. He speaks as if the learning of music were useless except for the purpose of idle ostentation.' S.

<sup>2</sup> **Presently]** i.e. straightway. See note, p. 91.

## [RIDING—FENCING.]

198. Fencing,<sup>1</sup> and riding the great horse,<sup>2</sup> are looked upon as so necessary parts of breeding, that it would be thought a great omission to neglect them; the latter of the two being for the most part to be learned only in great towns, is one of the best exercises for health, which is to be had in those places of ease and luxury: and, upon that account, makes a fit part of a young gentleman's employment during his abode there. And as far as it conduces to give a man a firm and graceful seat on horseback, and to make him able to teach his horse to stop and turn quick, and to rest on his haunches, is of use to a gentleman both in peace and war. But whether it be of moment enough to be made a business of, and deserve to take up more of his time, than should barely for his health be employed at due intervals in some such vigorous exercise, I shall leave to the discretion of parents and tutors, who will do well to remember, in all the parts of education, that most time and application is to be

<sup>1</sup> **Fencing]** 'Fencing seems, among our ancestors, to have formed an important part of education, even among those trained up for peaceable professions. For we find even Milton, who, though he never took orders, was educated for the church, alluding with some satisfaction to his expertness as a swordsman. "Nor, though very thin, was I ever deficient in courage or in strength; and I was wont constantly to exercise myself in the use of the sword, as long as it comported with my habits and my years. Armed with this weapon, as I usually was, I should have thought myself quite a match for any one, though much stronger than myself; and I felt perfectly secure against the assault of any open enemy." (*Second Defence of the People of England.*)' *St. J.*

<sup>2</sup> **Riding the great horse]** i.e. horsemanship. I find on the title-page of the *Gentleman's Dictionary* (1705) the following: 'I. The *Art of Riding the Great Horse*: Containing the Terms and Phrases us'd in the *Manage*, and the Diseases and Accidents of Horses.' Again I find, under the word *Manage*, 'Manage is a Word that signifies not only the ground set apart for the exercise of *Riding the Great Horse*, but likewise the Exercise itself.' The expression occurs in the *Spectator*, No. 134.

bestowed on that, which is like to be of greatest consequence, and frequentest use in the ordinary course and occurrences of that life the young man is designed for.

199. As for fencing, it seems to me a good exercise for health, but dangerous to the life: the confidence of their skill being apt to engage in quarrels those that think they have learned to use their swords. This presumption makes them often more touchy than needs, on points of honour, and slight or no provocations. Young men, in their warm blood, are forward to think they have in vain learned to fence, if they never show their skill and courage in a duel; and they seem to have reason. But how many sad tragedies that reason has been the occasion of, the tears of many a mother can witness. A man that cannot fence, will be more careful to keep out of bullies and gamesters' company, and will not be half so apt to stand upon punctilios,<sup>1</sup> nor to give affronts, or fiercely justify them when given, which is that which usually makes the quarrel. And when a man is in the field, a moderate skill in fencing, rather exposes him to the sword of his enemy, than secures him from it. And certainly a man of courage, who cannot fence at all, and therefore will put all upon one thrust, and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate fencer, especially if he has skill in wrestling. And therefore if any provision be to be made against such accidents, and a man be to prepare his son for duels, I had much rather mine should be a good wrestler than an ordinary fencer, which is the most a gentleman can attain to in it, unless he will be constantly in the fencing-school, and every day exercising. But since fencing, and riding the great horse, are so generally looked upon as necessary qualifications in the breed-

<sup>1</sup> Punctilios] i.e. nice points of honour.

ing of a gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny any one of that rank these marks of distinction. I shall leave it therefore to the father, to consider how far the temper of his son, and the station he is like to be in, will allow, or encourage him to comply with fashions, which having very little to do with civil life, were yet formerly unknown to the most warlike nations, and seem to have added little of force or courage to those who have received them; unless we will think martial skill or prowess have been improved by duelling, with which fencing came into, and with which, I presume, it will go out of the world.

200. ~~These are my present thoughts concerning~~ learning and accomplishments. The great business of all is virtue and wisdom:

Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia.<sup>1</sup>

Teach him to get a mastery over his inclinations, and submit his appetite to reason. This being obtained, and by constant practice settled into habit, the hardest part of the task is over. To bring a young man to this, I know nothing which so much contributes, as the love of praise and commendation, which should therefore be instilled into him by all arts imaginable. Make his mind as sensible of credit and shame as may be; and when you have done that, you have put a principle into him, which will influence his actions when you are not by, to which the fear of a little smart or a rod is not comparable, and which

<sup>1</sup> **Nullum**, &c.] [No deity is absent if Prudence be present.] Locke does not quote Juvenal quite accurately here. The great satirist says:

'Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia.' (x. 365.)

You have no deity [O Fortune], if there be prudence, i.e. If men would but act with prudence, the goddess Fortune would cease to be regarded as a divinity. Cicero, I think, argues that he who has prudence will have all other virtues, for it would be a mark of imprudence, *not* to have them.

will be the proper stock whereon afterwards to graft the true principles of morality and religion.

[TRADE.]

201. I have one thing more to add, which as soon as I mention I shall run the danger of being suspected to have forgot what I am about, and what I have above written concerning education, all tending towards a gentleman's calling, with which a Trade seems to be wholly inconsistent. And yet I cannot forbear to say, I would have him learn a trade, a manual trade; <sup>1</sup> nay, two or three, but one more particularly.

202. The busy inclination of children being always to be directed to something that may be useful to them, the advantages proposed from what they are set about may be considered of two kinds: 1. Where the skill itself that is got by exercise, is worth the having. Thus skill not only in languages and learned sciences, but in painting, turning, gardening, tempering, and working in iron, and all other useful arts is worth the having. 2. Where the exercise itself, without any consideration, is necessary or useful for health. Knowledge in some things is so necessary to be got by children, whilst they are young, that some part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, though those employments contribute nothing at all to their health. Such are reading and writing, and all other sedentary studies, for the cultivating of the mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of gentlemen's time, quite from their cradles. Other manual arts, which are both got, and exercised by labour, do many of them, by that exercise, not only increase our dexterity and skill, but contribute to our health too, especially such as employ us in the open

<sup>1</sup> Manual trade] Workshops have recently been established with much advantage at some of our public schools. (See Introduction.)

air. In these, then, health and improvement may be joined together, and of these should some fit ones be chosen, to be made the recreations of one whose chief business is with books and study. In this choice, the age and inclination of the person is to be considered, and constraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For command and force may often create, but can never cure, an aversion : and whatever any one is brought to by compulsion, he will leave as soon as he can, and be little profited and less recreated by, whilst he is at it.

## [PAINTING.]

203. That which of all others would please me best, would be a painter, were there not an argument or two against it not easy to be answered. First, ill painting is one of the worst things in the world ; and to attain a tolerable degree of skill in it, requires too much of a man's time. If he has a natural inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more useful studies to give way to that ; and if he have no inclination to it, all the time, pains, and money shall be employed in it, will be thrown away to no purpose. Another reason why I am not for painting in a gentleman, is, because it is a sedentary recreation, which more employs the mind than the body. A gentleman's more serious employment I look on to be study ; and when that demands relaxation and refreshment, it should be in some exercise of the body, which unbends the thought, and confirms the health and strength. For these two reasons I am not for painting.

## [RECREATIONS.]

204. In the next place, for a country gentleman I shall propose one, or rather both these, viz. gardening or husbandry in general, and working in wood, as a carpenter, joiner, or turner, these being fit and healthy

recreations for a man of study or business. For since the mind endures not to be constantly employed in the same thing or way, and sedentary or studious men should have some exercise, that at the same time might divert their minds, and employ their bodies, I know none that could do it better for a country gentleman than these two; the one of them affording him exercise when the weather or season keeps him from the other. Besides that, by being skilled in the one of them, he will be able to govern and teach his gardener; by the other, contrive and make a great many things both of delight and use: though these I propose not as the chief end of his labour, but as temptations to it; diversion from his other more serious thoughts and employments by useful and healthy manual exercise, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

205. The great men among the ancients, understood very well how to reconcile manual labour with affairs of state, and thought it no lessening to their dignity, to make the one the recreation to the other. That indeed which seems most generally to have employed and diverted their spare hours, was agriculture. Gideon amongst the Jews was taken from threshing, as well as Cincinnatus amongst the Romans from the plough, to command the armies of their countries against their enemies; and it is plain their dexterous handling of the flail or the plough, and being good workmen with these tools, did not hinder their skill in arms, nor make them less able in the arts of war or government. They were great captains and statesmen, as well as husbandmen. Cato Major,<sup>1</sup> who had with great reputation borne all the great offices of the commonwealth, has left us an evidence under his own hand, how much he was versed in country affairs; and, as I remember, Cyrus thought gardening

<sup>1</sup> Cato Major] Marcus Portius Cato Censorius (B.C. 234-149) wrote a work on agriculture (*De re rustica*).

so little beneath the dignity and grandeur of a throne, that he showed Xenophon a large field of fruit-trees, all of his own planting.<sup>1</sup> The records of antiquity, both amongst Jews and Gentiles, are full of instances of this kind, if it were necessary to recommend useful recreations by examples.

206. Nor let it be thought that I mistake when I call these or the like exercises and manual arts, diversions, or recreations: for recreation is not being idle, (as every one may observe,) but easing the wearied part by change of business: and he that

<sup>1</sup> Planting] 'I have nowhere found, in ancient authors, any foundation for what Locke here relates. Perhaps, however, he may allude to a very beautiful passage in Xenophon's *Economics*, where Socrates tells Critobulus an anecdote of the Younger Cyrus and Lysander, the latter of whom, he says, gave an account of the circumstances to his host in Megara. Upon Lysander's arrival at Sardes, with presents from the allies, Cyrus received him with great distinction, and showed him his grounds, which, in the old Persian language, were denominated a Paradise. The Laconian beheld with admiration the beauty of the plantations, where the trees, probably date-palms, arranged in right lines at regular distances, with straight and lofty stems, as I have seen them on the plain of Memphis, formed umbrageous avenues in all directions, while fragrant odours everywhere filled the air. He less admired the grounds, however, than the industry of Cyrus, who had arranged and laid out the whole; but, on his making the remark, "Do you wonder," said Cyrus, "at this circumstance? Why, among those trees, there are many that I planted with my own hands." Regarding his appearance, the beauty of his perfumed garments, his splendid bracelets, and neck-chains, and all the rest of his personal ornaments, Lysander is said to have exclaimed, "What do you mean, Cyrus? would you pretend that with those hands you have planted trees?" To which Cyrus replied: "Do you feel surprised at that, Lysander? I swear to you by Mithra, that, when in good health, I never sup before I have well perspired, either in martial exercises, or in the labours of agriculture." (Xenophon, *Econom.* iv. 20-25, edit. Schneid.) *St. J.*

Locke's reference to 'the grandeur and dignity of a throne' shows that he was erroneously thinking of Cyrus the Elder, the founder of the Persian empire, whereas Xenophon is speaking of Cyrus the Younger, who was never king, although Cicero, in the *De Senectute*, speaks of him as one. The error, which was still more explicit in the early editions, was pointed out by Coste in the author's life-time, but was not corrected until after his death. Even now, as is evident from the expression in the text quoted above, the error is only partially corrected.



thinks diversion may not lie in hard and painful labour, forgets the early rising, hard riding, heat, cold, and hunger of huntsmen, which is yet known to be the constant recreation of men of the greatest condition. Delving, planting, inoculating,<sup>1</sup> or any the like profitable employments, would be no less a diversion, than any of the idle sports in fashion, if men could but be brought to delight in them, which custom and skill in a trade will quickly bring any one to do. And I doubt not, but there are to be found those, who being frequently called to cards, or any other play, by those they could not refuse, have been more tired with these recreations than with any the most serious employment of life, though the play has been such, as they have naturally had no aversion to, and with which they could willingly sometimes divert themselves.

207. Play, wherein persons of condition, especially ladies, waste so much of their time, is a plain instance to me, that men cannot be perfectly idle; they must be doing something; for how else could they sit so many hours toiling at that which generally gives more vexation than delight to most people whilst they are actually engaged in it? It is certain, gaming leaves no satisfaction behind it to those who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either body or mind: as to their estates, if it strike so deep as to concern them, it is a trade then, and not a recreation, wherein few that have any thing else to live on, thrive: and at best, a thriving gamester has but a poor trade of it, who fills his pockets at the price of his reputation.

Recreation belongs not to people who are strangers to business, and are not wasted and wearied with the employment of their calling. The skill should be, so to order their time of recreation, that it may relax and refresh the part that has been exercised, and is

<sup>1</sup> Inoculating here means 'grafting.' The word, in this sense, is common in our older writers.

tired, and yet do something, which besides the present delight and ease, may produce, what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the vanity and pride of greatness and riches, that has brought unprofitable and dangerous pastimes (as they are called) into fashion, and persuaded people into a belief, that the learning, or putting their hands to any thing that was useful, could not be a diversion fit for a gentleman. This has been that which has given cards, dice, and drinking, so much credit in the world: and a great many throw away their spare hours in them, through the prevalency of custom, and want of some better employment to fill up the vacancy of leisure, more than from any real delight is to be found in them. They cannot bear the dead weight of unemployed time lying upon their hands, nor the uneasiness it is to do nothing at all: and having never learned any laudable manual art wherewith to divert themselves, they have recourse to those foolish, or ill ways in use, to help off their time, which a rational man, till corrupted by custom, could find very little pleasure in.

208. I say not this, that I would never have a young gentleman accommodate himself to the innocent diversions in fashion, amongst those of his age and condition. I am so far from having him austere and morose to that degree, that I would persuade him to more than ordinary complaisance for all the gaieties and diversions of those he converses with, and be averse or testy in nothing they should desire of him, that might become a gentleman and an honest man. Though as to cards and dice, I think the safest and best way is never to learn any play upon them, and so to be incapacitated for those dangerous temptations and incroaching wasters of useful time. But allowance being made for idle and jovial conversation, and all fashionable becoming recreations; I

say, a young man will have time enough from his serious and main business, to learn almost any trade. It is want of application, and not of leisure, that men are not skillful in more arts than one; and an hour in a day, constantly employed in such a way of diversion, will carry a man in a short time, a great deal farther than he can imagine: which, if it were of no other use but to drive the common, vicious, useless, and dangerous pastimes out of fashion, and to show there was no need of them, would deserve to be encouraged. If men from their youth were weaned from that sauntering humour, wherein some out of custom let a good part of their lives run uselessly away, without either business or recreation, they would find time enough to acquire dexterity and skill in hundreds of things: which, though remote from their proper callings, would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this, as well as other reasons before mentioned, a lazy, listless humour, that idly dreams away the days, is of all others the least to be indulged or permitted in young people. It is the proper state of one sick, and out of order in his health, and is tolerable in nobody else, of what age or condition soever.

209. To the arts above mentioned, may be added perfuming,<sup>1</sup> varnishing, graving, and several sorts of working in iron, brass, and silver; and if, as it happens to most young gentlemen, that a considerable part of his time be spent in a great town, he may learn to cut, polish, and set precious stones, or employ himself in grinding and polishing optical glasses. Amongst the great variety there is of ingenious manual arts, it will be impossible that no one should be found to please and delight him, unless

<sup>1</sup> Perfuming] In Locke's time there was a fashionable mania for the preparation of perfumes. Many ladies had their own stills with which they made peppermint-water, lavender-water, and the like.

he be either idle or debauched, which is ~~not to be~~ supposed in a right way of education. And since he cannot be always employed in study, reading, and conversation, there will be many an hour, besides what his exercises will take up, which, if not spent this way, will be spent worse. For I conclude, a young man will seldom desire to sit perfectly still and idle; or, if he does, it is a fault that ought to be mended.

[SECTION XXVI. §§ 210-211.]

[MERCHANTS' ACCOUNTS.]

210. But if his mistaken parents, frightened with the disgraceful names of mechanic and trade, shall have an aversion to any thing of this kind in their children; yet there is one thing relating to trade, which, when they consider, they will think absolutely necessary for their sons to learn.

Merchants' accounts, though a science not likely to help a gentleman to get an estate, yet possibly there is not any thing of more use and efficacy, to make him preserve the estate he has. It is seldom observed, that he who keeps an account of his income and expenses, and thereby has constantly under view the course of his domestic affairs, lets them run to ruin: and I doubt not but many a man gets behind-hand, before he is aware, or runs farther on, when he is once in, for want of this care, or the skill to do it. I would therefore advise all gentlemen to learn perfectly merchants' accounts, and not to think it is a skill that belongs not to them, because it has received its name from, and has been chiefly practised by men of traffic.

211. When my young master has once got the skill of keeping accounts (which is a business of reason

more than arithmetic) perhaps it will not be amiss that his father, from thenceforth, require him to do it in all his concernments. Not that I would have him set down every pint of wine, or play, that costs him money; the general name of expenses will serve for such things well enough: nor would I have his father look so narrowly into these accounts, as to take occasion from thence to criticise on his expenses; he must remember that he himself was once a young man, and not forget the thoughts he had then, nor the right his son has to have the same, and to have allowance made for them. If, therefore, I would have the young gentleman obliged to keep an account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his expenses, (for what the father allows him, he ought to let him be fully master of,) but only, that he might be brought early into the custom of doing it, and that it might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes, which will be so useful and necessary to be constantly practised the whole course of his life. A noble Venetian, whose son wallowed in the plenty of his father's riches, finding his son's expenses grow very high and extravagant, ordered his cashier to let him have for the future no more money than what he should count when he received it. This one would think no great restraint to a young gentleman's expenses, who could freely have as much money as he would tell:<sup>1</sup> but yet this, to one that was used to nothing but the pursuit of his pleasures, proved a very great trouble, which at last ended in this sober and advantageous reflection: If it be so much pains to me barely to count the money I would spend, what labour and pains did it cost my ancestors, not only to count, but to get it? This rational thought, suggested by this little pains imposed upon him, wrought so effectually upon his mind, that it made him take up, and from that time

<sup>1</sup> Tell] i.e. count. Cf. 'Tell the towers thereof.' (Psalm xlviii. 12.)

forwards prove a good husbänder. This, at least, every body must allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a man within compass, than the having constantly before his eyes the state of his affairs in a regular course of account.

[SECTION XXVII. §§ 212-215.]

[ON TRAVEL.]

212. The last part usually in education, is travel, which is commonly thought to finish the work, and complete the gentleman. I confess travel into foreign countries has great advantages, but the time usually chosen to send young men abroad, is, I think, of all other, that which renders them least capable of reaping those advantages. Those which are proposed, as to the main of them, may be reduced to these two, first, language; secondly, an improvement in wisdom and prudence, by seeing men, and conversing with people of tempers, customs, and ways of living, different from one another, and especially from those of his parish and neighbourhood. But from sixteen to one and twenty, which is the ordinary time of travel, men are, of all their lives, the least suited to these improvements. The first season to get foreign languages, and form the tongue to their true accents, I should think, should be from seven to fourteen or sixteen, and then too, a tutor with them is useful and necessary, who may, with those languages, teach them other things. But to put them out of their parents' view at a great distance, under a governor, when they think themselves to be too much men to be governed by others, and yet have not prudence and experience enough to govern themselves, what is it, but to expose them to all the greatest dangers of their whole life, when they have the least fence and guard against

them? Until that boiling boisterous part of life comes in, it may be hoped, the tutor may have some authority: neither the stubbornness of age, nor the temptation or examples of others, can take him from his tutors' conduct till fifteen or sixteen: but then, when he begins to consort himself with men, and thinks himself one; when he comes to relish, and pride himself in manly vices, and thinks it a shame to be any longer under the controul and conduct of another, what can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet governor, when neither he has power to compel, nor his pupil a disposition to be persuaded; but on the contrary, has the advice of warm blood and prevailing fashion, to hearken to the temptations of his companions, just as wise as himself, rather than to the persuasions of his tutor, who is now looked on as an enemy to his freedom? And when is a man so like to miscarry, as when at the same time he is both raw and unruly? This is the season of all his life, that most requires the eye and authority of his parents and friends to govern it. The flexibility of the former part of a man's age, not yet grown up to be headstrong, makes it more governable and safe; and in the after part, reason and foresight begin a little to take place, and mind<sup>1</sup> a man of his safety and improvement. The time therefore I should think the fittest for a young gentleman to be sent abroad, would be, either when he is younger, under a tutor, whom he might be the better for; or when he is some years old, without a governor; when he is of age to govern himself, and make observations of what he finds in other countries worthy his notice, and that might be of use to him after his return: and when too, being thoroughly acquainted with the laws and fashions, the natural and moral advantages and defects of his own country, he has something to exchange,

<sup>1</sup> Mind] i.e. keep in mind.

with those abroad, from whose conversation he hoped to reap any knowledge.

213. The ordering of travel otherwise, is that, I imagine, which makes so many young gentlemen come back so little improved by it. And if they do bring home with them any knowledge of the places and people they have seen, it is often an admiration of the worst and vainest practices they met with abroad ; retaining a relish and memory of those things wherein their liberty took its first swing, rather than of what should make them better and wiser, after their return. And indeed how can it be otherwise, going abroad at the age they do under the care of another, who is to provide their necessaries, and make their observations for them ? Thus under the shelter and pretence of a governor, thinking themselves excused from standing upon their own legs, or being accountable for their own conduct, they very seldom trouble themselves with inquiries, or making useful observations of their own. Their thoughts run after play and pleasure, wherein they take it as a lessening to be controlled ; but seldom trouble themselves to examine the designs, observe the address, and consider the arts, tempers, and inclinations of men they meet with ; that so they may know how to comport themselves towards them. Here he that travels with them, is to screen them ; get them out when they have run themselves into the briars ; and in all their mis-carriages be answerable for them.

214. I confess, the knowledge of men is so great a skill, that it is not to be expected a young man should presently be perfect in it. But yet his going abroad is to little purpose, if travel does not sometimes open his eyes, make him cautious and wary, and accustom him to look beyond the outside, and, under the inoffensive guard of a civil and obliging carriage, keep himself free and safe in his conversation



with strangers, and all sort of people, without forfeiting their good opinion. He that is sent out to travel at the age, and with the thoughts of a man designing to improve himself, may get into the conversation and acquaintance of persons of condition where he comes ; which, though a thing of most advantage to a gentleman that travels ; yet I ask, amongst our young men, that go abroad under tutors, what one is there of an hundred, that ever visits any person of quality ? much less make an acquaintance with such, from whose conversation he may learn what is good breeding in that country, and what is worth observation in it ; though from such persons it is, one may learn more in one day, than in a year's rambling from one inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wondered ; for men of worth and parts will not easily admit the familiarity of boys, who yet need the care of a tutor ; though a young gentleman and stranger, appearing like a man, and showing a desire to inform himself in the customs, manners, laws, and government of the country he is in, will find welcome assistance and entertainment amongst the best and most knowing persons everywhere, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance an ingenious<sup>1</sup> and inquisitive foreigner.

## [CONCLUSION.]

215. This, how true soever it be, will not, I fear, alter the custom, which has cast the time of travel upon the worst part of a man's life ; but for reasons not taken from their improvement. The young lad must not be ventured abroad at eight or ten, for fear what may happen to the tender child, though he then runs ten times less risk than at sixteen or eighteen. Nor must he stay at home till that dangerous heady<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Ingenious**] i.e. ingenuous.

<sup>2</sup> **Heady**] i.e. headstrong, restive. Cf. 'Traitors, heady, high-minded,' (2 Tim. iii. 4.)

age be over, because he must be back again by one and twenty, to marry, and propagate. The father cannot stay any longer for the portion, nor the mother for a new set of babies to play with ; and so my young master, whatever comes of it, must have a wife looked out for him, by the time he is of age ; though it would be no prejudice to his strength, his parts, or his issue, if it were respite for some time, and he had leave to get, in years and knowledge, the start a little of his children, who are often found to tread too near upon the heels of their fathers, to the no great satisfaction either of son or father. But the young gentleman being got within view of matrimony, it is time to leave him to his mistress.

216. Though I am now come to a conclusion of what obvious remarks have suggested to me concerning education, I would not have it thought, that I look on it as a just treatise on this subject. There are a thousand other things, that may need consideration ; especially if one should take in the various tempers, different inclinations, and particular defaults, that are to be found in children, and prescribe proper remedies. The variety is so great, that it would require a volume ; nor would that reach it. Each man's mind has some peculiarity, as well as his face, that distinguishes him from all others ; and there are possibly scarce two children, who can be conducted by exactly the same method. Besides that, I think a prince, a nobleman, and an ordinary gentleman's son, should have different ways of breeding. But having had here only some general views, in reference to the main end and aims in education, and those designed for a gentleman's son, whom being then very little, I considered only as white paper, or wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases ; I have touched little more than those heads which I judged necessary for the breeding of a young gentleman of his condition

in general ; and have now published these my occasional thoughts with this hope, that though this be far from being a complete treatise on this subject, or such as that every one may find what will just fit his child in it, yet it may give some small light to those whose concern for their dear little ones makes them so irregularly bold, that they dare venture to consult their own reason, in the education of their children, rather than wholly to rely upon Old Custom.



*John*

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